# NEW DOCUMENTS OF INDIAN PAINTING

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# PREFACE

The present volume which is a re-consideration of Indian miniature painting upto the sixteenth century is no more than an attempt to elucidate the many problems which face those who have endeavoured to study this period. The available evidence is all too often inadequate for firm conclusions and we are conscious of this limitation. Nevertheless, having regard to the new material which has come to light in recent years, we felt that the subject merited an effort on our parts to indicate certain trends and lines of development which we think the evidence indicates. It may be that some or many of our conclusions may have to be altered or modified when further research brings fresh material to light. Nevertheless, the process of discovery in this field can never be rapid and researchers cannot wait for an unlimited period of time to formulate conclusions which would brook no challenge. In the circumstances, it is inevitable that with regard to several matters we have been influenced by our personal points of view, though we have always endeavoured to indicate the basis on which we have made surmises. Amongst the major difficulties, which we have encountered, is the uncertainty of date and provenance which besets several of the illustrated manuscripts, often fragmentary, which are frequently designated as Sultanate Painting. This very nomenclature itself is differently understood by different writers and the beginnings of this style of work are still shrouded in a few vague literary references. The answer to these and other problems may be just round the corner or it may be many many years before new evidence comes to light. In the meantime, if our efforts in publishing the material at present available provides a basis for further research and new ideas on these problems, we feel, our labours will have earned their recompense. It is not unnatural that we ourselves should not always be in agreement on certain aspects of the subjects which forms the theme of this publication and accordingly we have indicated such differences of opinions as exist between us. Nonetheless, our collaboration has always been of the happiest order for we are both acutely alive to the fact that pioneers in any field of study should ever be prepared to revise their conclusions. We have, therefore, sought to avoid a feeling so detrimental to research of formulating a rigid point of view and then manipulating the evidence to fit in with an *a priori* conclusion. But at the same time evidence, particularly when it is far from plentiful, may tentatively lead to two different conclusions, facts of which may be plausible. This fact underlines the importance of finding illustrated manuscripts which are not only dated but also indicate the place of their origin. Colophons are all

too often missing or tantalizingly ambiguous. But we take comfort in the thought that time never stands still and that in a vast and largely unexplored country like ours there may be hidden many valuable manuscripts which will enable scholars in the future to evolve more authoritative development of style than may be we have been able to achieve.

It would be a natural expectation to have adequate number of colour and monochrome plates in a book on paintings. This has been possible in this book only due to the sumptuous grant-in-aid received from the Government of India for which we are indeed very grateful.

The co-operation received from Shri F. R. Poonawala of Commercial Art Engravers, Bombay in the preparation of the blocks and that of M/s. Vakil and Sons Private Ltd. Bombay in printing it cannot be adequately acknowledged.

In the preparation of this volume we have received the unstinted aid of our Assistant Curators, Shri B. V. Shetti, Shri S. K. Andhare and Shri S. V. Gorakshkar and we are indeed grateful to them for the interest which they have taken in our labours and also in many other works such as the printing, lay-out, proof correcting and indexing of this volume.

Karl Khandalavala

Moti Chandra

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## CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

The closing years of the twelfth century witnessed revolutionary changes in the history of India. But after the first fury of Islamic intolerance had subsided certain traditional art forms reasserted themselves. Rich Jain merchants and bankers renewed their patronage of the made-to-order art of the Jain illustrated manuscripts which was purely hieratic in character and basically conservative. Whatever set-back there may have been was only temporary, and it is indeed remarkable that the vast output of Jain illustrated manuscripts was during the rule of the Muslim Sultanates in Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur and Delhi. The position in Bengal and Bihar, however, was not the same. The Buddhist Tāntric illustrated manuscripts which had become popular during the rule of the Pāla kings became very rare in their original homeland after the devastation wrought by the armies of Bakhtyār Khaljī, in about A.D. 1200 but, due to the exodus of the persecuted Buddhist monks to Nepal, we find a continuity of this form of art in this small Himalayan kingdom which had already welcomed the faith of the Śākyamuni since the eighth century A.D. But, this Tāntric Buddhist art, though it continued long in Nepal and Tibet and assumed various extravagant forms, particularly in the painting of *ṭaṅkās*, does not come within the orbit of our treatise because it had no influence in the formation of the styles which are our principal concern. On the other hand the development of the art of the illustrated Jain manuscripts is of primary importance to our study for it projected its influence on miniature painting both pre-Mughal and post-Mughal.

Though we have an abundance of references in early Indian literature to murals, portraiture and several other forms of painting, we find no mention of illustrated manuscripts. Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita*, while describing the presents of Bhāskaravarman to Harsha, mentions a pair of wooden panels, to one side of which were attached colour pots of small gourds and brushes *(avalambamānatūlikālabukān)*.[1] Whether this is a reference to the painted wooden covers of a manuscript or a reference to boards used for painting it is difficult to say. It seems to us very doubtful if the art of manuscript illustration was in vogue prior to the tenth century. It appears to be essentially a mediaeval development with the Jains[2] and the

[1] V. S. Agrawala, *Harshacharita—ek sāṅskṛitika adhyayana*, (Hindi), Patna, 1953, p. 170.

[2] No illustrated Jain MS. earlier than the eleventh century is known. A *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, the latest date of which can be A.D. 1069 has only black and white decorations. But U.P. Shah has referred to an illustrated palm-leaf MS. dated A.D. 1060 in his Presidential Address, All India Oriental Conference 1968. See Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1950, p. 10.

Buddhists. But, there is no doubt that when it did come into being the artists of the Jain manuscripts as also those of the Tāntric Buddhist manuscripts were influenced in some respects by the prevailing practices in contemporary wall-painting. The Pāla manuscript illustrators were obviously not unaware of the late Ajanta tradition and similarly the Jain manuscript illustrators seem to have been familiar with the manner of wall-painting such as we see in the Kailāsanātha temple and the Jain Caves of Ellora. The farther projecting eye, a feature so dominant in Jain manuscript art till the late sixteenth century, is clearly observed at Ellora and in fact its beginnings in a modified form are traceable to some figures in Cave No. 2 at Ajanta, the paintings of which we are of the opinion cannot be later than the mid-sixth century A.D.[3] This characteristic can be observed in some magnificent painted wooden *paṭṭīs* (MS. covers) of the twelfth century, such as the well-known example in the collection of Muni Jinavijayaji, depicting the disputation between the Śvetāmbara Muni Deva Sūri and the Digambara scholar Kumudachandra, ascribable to the reign of the great Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of Gujarat[4] (A.D. 1099-1143), at whose court the incident occurred. The panel is a definite landmark both as to the style and the quality of work which prevailed in the finest manuscript illustrations in Gujarat during the twelfth century A.D. That inferior illustrators also produced, side by side, a large quantity of manuscript illustrations of lesser merit is not unnatural having regard to the fact that primarily the work of manuscript illustration, with few exceptions, must be regarded more as a craft than as an art in the true sense of the term. It is in these wooden panels that the art of Jain manuscript illustration of the twelfth century reaches its high water-mark. If the figure drawing therein hearkens back to some of the more stylized types at Ellora, there is also an occasional reminder, albeit rare, of the Ajanta mannerism of dealing with female faces—sensitive, aristocratic and framed against a mass of dark lovely hair elegantly arranged (Fig. 1). But echoes of the Ajanta tradition are more pronounced in the floral, bird and animal scroll decorations of some of these *paṭṭīs*. Hence we are inclined to conclude, though the evidence is lacking, that in some forms of wall decoration, or painting on wooden boards, upto the twelfth century A.D., the Ajanta tradition howsoever modified had lingered on.[5] In this modified form it appears to have been accessible to the illustrators of some of the Jain *paṭṭīs* of the twelfth century A.D.[6] In this connection it may be well to remember that the Ajanta tradition was far from dead not only at Ellora but also at Sittanavasal in the so-called Pāṇḍyan cave paintings of the ninth century A.D.,[7] assuming they are not earlier. These decorative *paṭṭīs*, particularly those with lotus rhizome, birds and animals continuing older motifs, are not only artistic but sometimes present unusual features. In one of the Jaisalmer *paṭṭīs* amidst the scroll design

[3] G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part II, London, 1933, Pl. XI (*a*) and Pl. XXIV. We are of the view, on the basis of architectural style and pillar construction, that Cave No. 1 is more or less contemporary with the Ghaṭotkacha Cave which has an inscription of a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harishena and therefore can be dated *c.* A.D. 500. Cave No. 2 cannot be much later. By the ninth century at Ellora what was originally a suggestive feature became a cliché as if the purpose of the farther projecting eye was to emphasize the fact that the figure was not one-eyed.

[4] Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949, figs. 193-198.

[5] Even in the Choḷa paintings at the Bṛihadīśvara shrine of Tanjore of the period of Rājarāja (A.D. 985-1014) an echo of Ajanta is present in some female figures.

[6] Muni Sri Punyavijayaji, *Jaisalmerni Chitra-Samṛiddhi*, (Gujarati), Ahmedabad, 1951, Pls. 33-35. See also Sarabhai Nawab, *The Oldest Rajasthani Paintings from Jain Bhandars*, Ahmedabad, 1959. Chapter 3, Pls. 1-8.

[7] T. N. Ramchandran, "Cave Temple and Paintings of Sittanavasal," *Lalit Kalā*, No. 9, April 1961, Pl. B.

we find a giraffe.[8] Whether this unusual animal found only in Africa was sent as a present to some ruler in Gujarat and was seen by the artist of the *paṭṭī*, or whether it was brought by a horse trader or camel trader it is not possible to say. Rare animals and birds were not infrequently sent by one king to another with other ambassadorial presents. In the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*[9] it is stated that Sultān Muzaffar Shāh II sent a rhinoceros[10] along with seven (or two?) huge elephants and other wonderful birds and beasts for Ismā'īl Shāh, "King of Iraq and Khurāsān" (Persia) with the latter's ambassador, Mīr Ibrāhim (or Yādgār Beg?). Two large ships were provided for all the goods of the ambassador. Another account states that the mast of the ship carrying the *geṇḍā* (rhinoceros), elephants and other presents broke as it was deliberately made faulty and the ship had to return to Surat. The ambassador could not take his presents to Persia. A giraffe is also depicted in the early fourteenth century sculptures of Konarak[11] on the east coast and was no doubt brought from Africa as a present for King Narasiṁha, the builder of this famous shrine. But its presence as well as that of finely painted birds, elephants and delightful floral patterns on such *paṭṭīs* betokens an approach which is fresh and marked by an artistry wherein the painter is not labouring under the burden of conventional hieratic formulae. Thus, the inspiration of the great period of wall-painting was not altogether wanting in these early Jain manuscript illustrators but their art was so heavily circumscribed by conservative stylized mannerisms and clichés that it rarely broke its bounds to paint the joyous world of plants and birds and animals which we see on some of the *paṭṭīs* of the twelfth century.

The rapid linear technique, the decorative motifs already referred to, the treatment at times of female faces in the manner of the early wall-paintings, the elementary colour tonality in reds, yellow, green and black, the angularity of features and limbs and the stiff formal poses in these *paṭṭīs*, all seem to indicate a mixed inheritance derived from post-Ajanta wall-painting, contemporary sculpture and some forms of folk art which we cannot define with any certainty but which must surely have existed. These early palm-leaf manuscripts usually unrelated to the text seem intended to enhance its religious potency and its miraculous efficacy.

Not much is known about the artistic proclivities of the early Sultāns of Delhi and of the provinces, though architecture, it is certain, received their patronage. Many of them though averse to figural arts showed their appreciation for literature and poetry though we also have the instance of 'Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad Khaljī (A.D. 1296-1316) who was a man of little or no learning and remained so all his life. He could not appreciate even the great talents of Amīr Khusrav. But during his reign learning received much support from private philanthropy and there was a vigorous intellectual life. The naskhī script was greatly in vogue. It is, therefore, not surprising that Amīr Khusrav and Amīr Hasan produced their masterpieces during his reign. The former, though his language bristles with high metaphors and difficult words, has bequeathed to posterity convincing pen pictures of the social and economic conditions of the people. The vignettes of an autocratic royal court show that with

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8 Sarabhai Nawab, *The Oldest Rajasthani Paintings from Jain Bhandars*, Pl. W.

9 *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, Dharampur, n.d., p. 94.

10 Sarabhai Nawab, *The Oldest Rajasthani Paintings from Jain Bhandars*, Pl. Y. where a rhinoceros is seen in a Jain *paṭṭī*.

11 O. C. Gangoly, *Konarak*, Calcutta, 1956, Pls. 7 and 10.

the exception of certain indigenous elements it was entirely Persian and Central Asian oriented in its outlook.

With the establishment of Sultanate rule in Delhi it was but natural that in the beginning Baghdad, Bukhara and Samarqand were regarded as the centres of Muslim learning and culture. With the sack of Baghdad in A.D. 1258 by the Mongol Hulāgū Khān the intercourse between Delhi and these cities was sorely affected and many scholars from these centres sought safety in India. Later in the times of the Khaljīs (A.D. 1296-1320) we again find cultural and trade relationships with foreign centres resumed, this time principally with Persia. During the rule of the Tughluqs this intercourse between the Delhi Sultanate and other centres of Muslim culture outside India greatly increased and these included cities not only in Persia but also Iraq, Egypt and Central Asia. That such intercourse led to many manuscripts being imported into or brought to India is not to be wondered at. For instance, we learn that Iltutmish procured from Baghdad two important volumes for his sons. No wonder Amīr Khusrav could exclaim that every stone in Delhi concealed a gem of literary brilliance. During the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī it is said that one Maulānā Shams-ud-dīn came to India from Egypt with a camel load of books. Muhammad bin Tughluq is also known to have procured books from foreign lands and invited foreign scholars to Delhi. Foreign traders in Delhi were also very frequent and there were many Khurāsāni merchants residing in Delhi during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Amongst the articles they purchased for export were books written in India which fact indicates a great deal of activity in the penning of manuscripts on various subjects. Amīr Khusrav mentions the use of Syrian paper in Delhi. So also Indian traders frequently visited the lands of the Mongols. The people of Delhi were eloquent in Persian as well as Hindi while scholars knew Arabic, Persian and Hindavi. In the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq the great *madrasa* of Hauz-i-Khās was one of the greatest seats of Muslim culture and learning in the Islamic world. There we are told that amongst other comforts were carpets from Shirāz, Yemen and Damascus. This picture of Sultanate India makes it easy to comprehend that many illustrated manuscripts from Iraq and Persia and other places must also have been in the libraries of the Sultāns, in colleges and in the houses of cultured nobles and scholars. Illustrated manuscripts such as those on medicine very popular in Iraq, automata, the *Maqāmāt of al-Harīrī*, the *Fables of Bidpai*, the *Jāmi'at-Tavārīkh* of Rashīd-ud-dīn, the *Shāh Nāma*, the works of Nizāmī and a host of others were available to be seen by local painters as and when it was thought fit to commission them to illustrate a manuscript prepared in India for the edification of some bibliophile or the needs of some scholar. That such manuscript at all periods of Sultanate rule had some influence on the indigenous schools of painting is evident. But whether the practice of illustrating manuscripts written in India was only of a very casual nature as suggested by the limited material hitherto available, or was carried on extensively, it is not possible to say. Khandalavala thinks that the latter situation is unlikely. Murals are oft mentioned but not painted manuscripts.

In spite of all their debauchery, political murders and devastating wars, the Sultāns showed appreciation for higher forms of art particularly architecture. After destroying the Hindu temples and palaces in the name of Islam they employed Hindu architects and masons to build their palaces, mosques, caravanserais, public baths, gardens, tanks and colleges which, though based on prototypes from Persia and Central Asia, revealed a

distinctive Indian flavour. The city was divided into separate quarters occupied by various social groups. The royal establishment consisted of a complex of buildings—the royal palaces, elephant and horse stables, parade grounds, army quarters, mosques, colleges, baths, gardens etc. The private chambers of the Sultāns must have been painted after the old Hindu manner, though this practice was strictly forbidden by Fīrūz Tughluq in his reign. The numerous apartments of the palaces were furnished with silk hangings, velvet tapestries, damascened arms, candle sticks, carpets, writing cases etc. As these luxuries required specialized industries, the Sultāns had ateliers known from early times as *kārkhānās* attached to their palaces which produced artistic goods for the personal use of the rulers and their entourage. Thus there were *kārkhānās* for all manner of raiment, costly silks and velvets, carpets, finely fashioned and damascened arms and armour, decorated saddles, silver and gold plates, jewellery and ornaments, utensils etc.

How far the Sultāns patronized painting is a matter of speculation though it certainly could not have had any vogue during the reign of the unlearned 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. The available evidence shows that the art of painting was treated merely as one of the decorative arts used for enlivening the blank surfaces of the bed-room walls. The Delhi Sultāns and this also seems to be true of the provincial Sultāns, hardly showed any inclination for painting as a fine art at least till the last decades of the fifteenth century A.D. Amongst several references to painting in the Sultanate period one appears in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of 'Afīf,[12] a contemporary of Fīrūz Tughluq, who observes: "It is customary with the kings that their bed-rooms are painted so that when alone with the women-folk they could see the paintings." Sultān Fīrūz for fear of God issued the following order: "These ateliers *(kārkhānās)* should not turn out pictures *(taswīr dar īn kārkhāna na kunand)*, as this is against the Islamic law. In the place of figural drawing *(suratgarī)* floral decoration *(naqsh)* should be used."

Fīrūz's bigotry knew no bounds.[13] Not content with his prohibitory order against painting he also prohibited figure engraving in brass, copper, gold and silver ware as they were

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[12] Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 375;
Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Tughluq Kālīn Bhārata*, Part II, (Hindi), Aligarh, 1957, pp. 147-148.

[13] In Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, (Reprint), Calcutta, 1953, the references to painting are translated as follows:

(1) "Abuses which had pressed upon the people in revenue matters, mal-practices in the administration of public business, and breaches of the Holy Law were all forbidden. One of these (last) was the painting of portraits in the private apartments of kings. It was held right among monarchs to have painted chambers to gratify their eyes in retirement, but Fīroz Shāh, in his fear of God, prohibited the painting of portraits as contrary to the Law, and directed that garden scenes should be painted instead.

Former kings used to have ornaments of brass and copper, silver and gold, in opposition to the Law; these he interdicted. They had also used plates and drinking vessels of metal; these also were forbidden, and he used only stone and earthenware table furniture. Pictures on banners and ensigns were also forbidden."—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*—Vol. entitled "Fīroz Shāh," p. 106.

(2) "It had been the practice in former reigns to use vessels of gold and silver at the royal table, and sword-belts and quivers were ornamented with gold and jewels. I forbade these things, and I ordered the fittings of my arms to be made of bone, and I commanded that only such vessels should be used as are recognized by the Law.

In former times it had been the custom to wear ornamented garments, and men received robes as tokens of honour from kings' courts. Figures and devices were painted and displayed on saddles, bridles, and collars, on censers, on goblets and cups, and flagons, on dishes and ewers, in tents, on curtains and on chairs, and upon all articles and utensils. Under Divine guidance and favour

against the Islamic law. It is evident from this verdict that the former Sultāns used figured gold and silver utensils for eating and drinking. But Fīrūz for fear of God began using earthen and stone utensils. In a similar way in former days the standards and *marātibs* were painted. Fīrūz stopped this practice as well.

Though the information given by 'Afīf is laconic, it at least shows the existence of painting in the palaces of some of the Sultāns preceding Fīrūz though nothing is left to tell about its artistic quality. An interesting point in this short notice on painting in the Sultanate period is that the Sultāns of Delhi had ateliers *(kārkhānās)* which employed painters for decorating palace walls. Of course this does not help us in deciding whether side by side there were any *kārkhānās* of painters which produced individual paintings or illustrated manuscripts.[14] There is no mention of any such production and thus on the available evidence it is doubtful if any atelier for book illustration existed at any Sultanate court at least till the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. Such an atelier certainly could not have existed in Fīrūz Shāh's time (A.D. 1351-1388) considering that he had prohibited all figure painting and engraving. But the fact that there was a *kārkhānā* of painters for palace decoration, though eschewing figural art, must have provided a basis for the production of manuscript illustration if and when it came into being at the Delhi Sultanate. This could be only after Fīrūz Shāh's death assuming some illustrated manuscripts were made under the patronage of the Delhi Sultāns. It must, however, at the same time be remembered that even if a few illustrated manuscripts were produced, these may have been stray commissions and there may never have been the necessity of maintaining a royal *kārkhānā* or atelier for book production. What remains of the Sultanate period is so scanty that we would not at the moment be justified in thinking in terms of regular royal ateliers at Sultanate courts for book production as existed in the time of Akbar and his successors.

That the foundation of ateliers was not an innovation of Akbar, but that the institution came down from the Sultanate period is quite obvious for the Sultanate courts needed *kārkhānās* just as much as the Mughal court. We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* that in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh one Khwājā Abu'l Hasan Khān was charged with the general superintendence of all the *kārkhānās*.

For the state of painting in the Sultanate period, however, the contemporary Avadhī

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I ordered all pictures and portraits to be removed from these things, and that such articles only should be made as are approved and recognized by the Law. Those pictures and portraits which were painted on the doors and walls of palaces I ordered to be effaced."—*Futūhāt-i-Fīroz Shāhī* —Vol. entitled "Fīroz Shāh", pp. 127, 128.

(3) "When the Sultān went to the palace, at the "great city" of Fīrozābād, the Khān-i-Jahān used to make preparations some days beforehand for his reception, by having the palace whitewashed and ornamented with pictures. Every possible care was taken by the Khān for the proper reception of the Sultān." *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*—Vol. entitled "Fīroz Shāh", p. 84. That these pictures were limited to floral designs and garden scenes and eschewed figural representation is evident from the Sultān's bigotted attitude towards painting.

(4) "The Sultān (Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Khaljī, A.D. 1290-1296), not being able to go into Delhī made Kīlū-gharī his capital, and fixed his abode there. He ordered the palace, which Kai-Kubād had begun, to be completed and embellished with paintings;" *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Ziāu-d dīn Baranī Vol. entitled "Later Kings of Delhi", p. 49. This may only be a reference to decorative designs.

[14] Khandalavala is of opinion that it is conceivable that a painter or two was in royal service off and on at some Sultanate courts but for any more far reaching conclusions we must wait for further evidence. The bourgeois book production, however, may have been considerably more extensive than at the royal courts during this very period, since more illustrated manuscripts of the former category exist. But all statements on Sultanate period painting require to be made with caution.

romances are of some help. Mullā Dāūd, the author, a contemporary of Fīrūz Tughluq (A.D. 1351-1388) in the *Chandāyana*, otherwise known as *Laur-Chandā* or the Love Story of Laur and Chandā gives the following description of wall-painting in a palace:

1. *Jhār chaukhaṇḍī iṅgur bānī*
   *Chitra ureha kīnha sunabānī*
2. *Laṅka ureha bhabhīkhana rehā*
   *Sañchai māna dasagara kai dehā*
3. *Sītā harana Rāma saṅgrāu*
   *Dura pāṇḍo Kurukheta ka ṭhāu*
4. *Karapā chora kodayā juārū(?)*
   *Ajayī nagarī Agiyā baitārū*
5. *Sāñjhī pandakāba laha lāvā*
   *Chakābūha arihañ uchāvā*
6. *Sīṁha-sañdūra miragha miraghāvana ānaū bhūta*
7. *Kathā-kāba paraloka nisārambha*
   *likh lāmbī jīñha pāta.*[15]—Fol. 205

"After cleaning the four-storeyed palace and coating it with vermilion, painting was done and gold applied. The island of Laṅkā (Ceylon) was painted and so also Vibhīshaṇa and Rāvaṇa were beautifully drawn. There also appeared the abduction of Sītā, the battles Rāma fought, and the war between Duryodhana and the Pāṇḍavas on the battlefield of Kurukshetra. There were also painted the exploits of the Black Thief, the Gambler from Gauḍa (Bengal) (?), the adventures of the ghost Agiyā in the city of Ajayī, the rescue he effected from the prison and the battle he fought with the enemy whose army stood in the wheel formation. Civet cats and animals of different kinds were painted and the episodes from the other world appeared in parallel panels."

The *Miṛgāvat* of Qutban written in the beginning of the sixteenth century[16] gives almost the same information about painting as the *Laur-Chandā* except for certain differences here and there. He says:

1. *Khāḍūpara khāḍa sāta uchāve*
   *dharai jharokhā atira suhāye*
2. *Chāra pāvara chaturaṅga suhāye*
   *jāna chahu disa sajai utārai*
3. *Tiha ūpara chaukhaṇḍī avarī*
   *Kanaka pāni au Īgura dharī*
4. *Chitarat Rāma Ramāyana chītā*
   *Rāvana harī Rāma ghara Sītā*
5. *Kānha sahasa solaha sau gopī*
   *Aṅgada jāgha Laṅka maha ropī*
6. *Katha yahaī saba chitaravai ika-ika anikhi*
7. *Siṅgha miraga kasturiā urahaī pātahī pāta*

"He raisad the seven storeys of the palace one above the other. Its plan was in a chess board pattern and it was provided with four gateways with conveyances making themselves ready for taking off. Above it was built a bed-room which was decorated with gold and

[15] See also, Maulānā Dāūd, *Chandāyana*, (Hindi), ed. by Parameshwari Lal Gupta, Bombay, 1964, p. 198.

[16] MS. in the Z. A. Desai Collection, Doha 34.
Prof. S. H. Askari, "Qutban's Mrigavat—a Unique MS. in Persian Script", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLI, Part 4, 1955, pp. 452-487.

vermilion. Rāma and episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* were painted and how Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā from her cottage. There also appeared Krishṇa with his sixteen thousand *gopīs* and Aṅgada firmly fixing his foot as a challenge in Laṅkā. There were also painted all kinds of curious stories and also lions, musk-deer, etc. in rows after rows".

In the *Chhitāī-Vārtā* dealing with the story of 'Alā-ud-dīn and Chhitāī, daughter of Rāmadeva Yādava, whose early versions appear in the middle of the fifteenth century,[17] an elaborate description of wall-painting is given. It is said that Rāmadeva once requested 'Alā-ud-dīn to lend him the services of an expert painter *(guṇī chitrau)*. The Sultān accepted the request, called for his own painter, bestowed upon him as a gift his own cloak, an elephant and a horse and ordered him to proceed to Devagiri.[18] Rāmadeva showed him the old palace and asked him to paint it. The painter, however, replied that it was not possible for him to paint on an old wooden surface as that would not take even a brushstroke *(raṅga kī rekhā)* and if new painting was done on such a surface it was bound to lose lustre.[19] Rāmadeva thereupon decided to build a new palace in consultation with the painter. When the palace was ready the painter approached the ruler, obtained the five basic colours from him and started to work. After invoking Gaṇapati he held the brush in correct position *(sahī lekhanī)* then painted the figure of Sarasvatī, the meeting and separation of Nala and Damayantī, scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and also hunting scenes. He also painted eighty-four erotic postures and the different kinds of men and women according to the *Kokaśāstra* (a work on erotics). The reputation of this art gallery spread. One day Chhitāī visited it with her attendants and saw the scenes of love-making and dancing. The painter who was working there at once took her portrait on paper.

Thus the indigenous sources reaffirm the fact that bedrooms and galleries were painted during the Sultanate period. Scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and the love episodes of Krishṇa, folk tales, scenes of love-making, dancers and musicians, and animals formed favourite subjects. That the list of the subjects treated in painting is not conventional is supported by the surviving illustrations. The illustrated *Āraṇyaka Parvan*[20] dated A.D. 1516 shows that the *Mahābhārata* was a favourite subject of the illustrators; the episodes from Rāma's life are depicted in the *Mirgāvat*,[21] and the *Bhāgavata*[22] miniatures depict incidents from Krishṇa's life.

The subjects preferred by the Sultāns are not known, but there should be little doubt that the choice must have been of Persian classics and romances as the surviving examples would indicate. In this connection attention may be drawn to two classes of manuscripts. The first is strictly based on Persian types, probably painted by Persian painters in the employment of the Sultāns while in the second, the indigenous tradition is influenced by Persian styles. The *Shirin-Farhād* painted for Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh I in A.D. 1571 is in the Bukhārā *kalam* and the colophon suggests that it was made for the Sultān in India. In that

17 Mata Prasad Gupta, *Chhitāī-Vārtā*, (Hindi), Varanasi, 1958, pp. 23-24.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 7 ff.

20 In the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. See Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala, "An Illustrated Manuscript of the Āraṇyaka Parvan in the Collection of the Asiatic Society, Bombay", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 38/1963 (New Series), pp. 116-121. See Colour Pls. 13-16 herein.

21 In the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. See Colour Pl. 26 and figs. 178-185 herein.

22 Examples are in several Museums and private collections. See Colour Pl. 21 and figs. 199-200 herein.

event there can be no doubt it was painted by a Persian artist at his court. It has no indigenous features. It is now in the Khudabaksh Library, Patna. The *Būstān* manuscript of Sultān Nasir Shāh Khaljī (A.D. 1500-1511) in the National Museum, New Delhi, is also thought by some writers to belong to the first class. But Khandalavala is not in agreement with that view-point.[23] The paintings present the scenes in the usual Persian decorative manner which places the figures in an ornamentally conceived setting, be it the interior of a palace or a landscape. There is no doubt that there must have existed many illustrated manuscripts of Persian origin with all the Sultāns who not unnaturally had a strong bias in favour of everything Persian. But how many were illustrated at various provincial courts, is a highly problematic issue because what remains of this class signifies a scanty production unless one assumes that most are lost.[24] What happened to the many artists who had worked to decorate temples, mansions and manuscripts before the advent of Islam it is difficult to say. Even if the demand for painting had fallen, there is reason to believe that a number of artists must have continued their vocation. Some must have been employed by the Sultāns for palace decoration and others by the rich Jain merchants. In this connection it has to be remembered that before the advent of the Sultanate in Gujarat, where the main production of manuscript illustration took place, it was all on palm leaf and hence somewhat restricted. The use of paper became popular during Sultanate rule in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D. There seems to have been no interference with this manuscript production when the Sultāns came into power and therefore the painters who had worked for the Jain community during the rule of the Solaṅkīs and Vāghelās continued their vocation under Sultanate rule. But with the advent of the Sultāns and Persian culture and literature a revival, slow and hesitant at first, discovered new forms and ideals which accepted and even welcomed foreign influences, and a new chapter thus came to be added to the history of Indian painting. The purpose of this study is to trace the development of the new trends in painting from the late fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century and deal with those manuscripts which act as pointers to this development in its various aspects.

The data for such a study is limited and naturally the undated and unplaced material is bound to raise sharp differences of opinion which is understandable. We do not claim any finality about the opinions we have expressed and moreover, we have indicated the differing view-points which prevail amongst ourselves. Since the days when we pioneered research in this field of study we ourselves have changed our opinions on occasion, though we may observe that our original surmise of a Northern Indian school different from that of Rajasthan has now received considerable support from later discoveries. It is, however, quite possible that further new material may affect our thesis. We have only attempted to present and bring to light all the available evidence in a simple manner so as to enable scholars to pursue the path of discovery which alone can fill up the lacunae in the history of pre-Mughal painting.

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[23] Khandalavala is of opinion that it was painted in Persia and presented to the Sultān. In any event he feels that if it was painted in India it was done by a Persian painter at the Mandu court who remained uninfluenced by elements of Indian painting.

[24] Khandalavala, in the absence of adequate evidence, thinks that the number of MSS. illustrated at Sultanate courts may not be many. Moti Chandra feels that many MSS. must have been illustrated at the Sultanate courts and the paucity of evidence is due to the rest being lost or undiscovered.

CHAPTER II

# THE BEGINNING

The iconographic emphasis which marks the earliest Jain manuscripts continued in Western Indian or Gujarati palm-leaf miniatures for most of the thirteenth century. But on occasion, as in an illustrated manuscript containing the *Subāhu Kathā* and other *Kathās* (A.D. 1288),[1] we notice that miniatures of iconographic interest are being replaced by simple compositions introducing landscape and animal drawing, though, the use of linear draughtsmanship and red background continues. Later, however, the illustrator's art is seen to advantage in the thirteenth century in the *Pārśvanāthacharita*, which represents episodes from the life of Pārśvanātha[2]. Herein the composition, though of small format and restricted in the number of figures employed, conveys the sense of the story even in the confined space of the *paṭṭis*

The history of Indian painting in the fourteenth century when the Sultāns had assumed full power in northern, western and eastern India requires to be considered province-wise. While in the face of the Muslim onslaught painting in eastern India seems to have withdrawn to Nepal, as already observed, our knowledge of the state of painting in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar after the Muslim invasion is somewhat obscure. In western India, however, the tradition continued. In fact, even in the palm-leaf Jain manuscripts of this period a conscious effort to improve the quality of the draughtsmanship and colours is evident. This is not altogether unexpected because the painters of the *paṭṭis* of the twelfth century were undoubtedly skilful and in course of time it must have come to be felt by the more sensitive of the illustrators that even hieratic formulae could be enlivened by superior draughtsmanship, livelier composition and attractive colouring. The scope of the composition was also widened to focus attention on continuous narration. In this group may be mentioned the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā* dated A.D. 1370 in the collection of Muktivijayajī Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Ujjamphoi Dharmasālā,[3] Ahmedabad and the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Seth Ānandjī Maṅgaljīnī Peḍhīnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Idar[4] which contains thirty-four miniatures. The

[1] *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, ed. by Sarabhai Nawab, Ahmedabad, 1936, pp. 40-41, figs. 52-59.
[2] Muni Sri Punyavijayaji, *Jasalmerni Chitra-Samṛiddhi*, Ahmedabad, 1951, figs. 10-29.
[3] *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, Pls. 32-34.
Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949, figs. 33-35.
[4] *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, Pls. XXIII, XXVI-XXVIII and XXXI.
*Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, p. 33, figs. 59-78.

composition in the latter is often elaborate containing in some panels more than ten figures either grouped round the central figure or arranged in horizontal panels, each panel representing a part of the incident. A conscious effort is also made to improve the quality of the drawing while the landscape, the furniture and the costumes are integrated to achieve balance in the composition.

This attempt at refining the technique of manuscript illustration was not confined only to palm-leaf miniatures in the fourteenth century. It is equally evident in the book-covers of the same period. In one such painted book cover from Jaisalmer depicting incidents from the life of Mahāvīra[5] this refinement of technique can be observed.

It is not known when exactly paper was used for the first time in western India[6], but there is no doubt that by the closing years of the fourteenth century it became an important material for painting. In this connection attention may be drawn to an illustrated manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā* in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Colour Pl. 1 and Figs. 2-4)[7]. It has one hundred and eight folios measuring approximately 30.5 × 7.6 cm. and forty illustrations. The margins on both sides are delineated by red and black lines; in the centre of the folios appear red circles. In solid circles in the margins appear the numbers of the folios both in numerals and letters. The illustrations measuring 7.6 × 7.6 cm. usually appear on the right side of the folios. The background is brick red and the colours used are white, red, yellow, black, green, carmine and indigo. Gold has been very sparingly used for accentuating certain details of costumes, ornaments, furniture and architecture. Ultramarine does not form a part of the palette. In the Jain illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts gold is rarely seen but its use becomes constant with the introduction of paper which supplanted the earlier carrier. In the treatment of the human figure recourse is taken to fine linear draughtsmanship; the distortions of the later period are avoided and the body contours are drawn with an easy grace. The farther eye protrudes in space but is not so prominent as in later manuscripts. The exaggeration of the chest is avoided to a certain extent and the hands and figures retain their natural form. Usually the male figure has a prominent forehead marked with a V-shaped *tilaka*, *paḍol*-shaped eyes with arched eye-brows, small mouth, thin lips, pointed nose and beard and the hair in a bun tied behind. The female figure though adhering to certain conventions is treated quite attractively. The forehead marked with a *tilaka* is narrow; the roundish face has the usual double chin; the breasts are well developed; the nose is sharp and pointed and the eyes are elongated with collyrium. No attempt is made to differentiate the various planes. The surface is divided into horizontal panels, each panel containing a part of the story. The artist apparently believed in careful brush work and this is clearly emphasized in the painstaking manner in which he has shown the minute details of textile patterns. As regards the treatment of landscape, which is limited, water is painted in the stock basket pattern, and hills and trees are also depicted conventionally.

The manuscript is unfortunately not dated, but judging from the format of the folios which approximates somewhat in size to those of the palm-leaf manuscripts though larger,

[5] Muni Sri Punyavijayaji, *Jaisalmerni Chitra-Samṛiddhi*, figs. 30-32.

[6] It appears to have come into use in the late twelfth century on a very limited scale but these early paper manuscripts have no illustrations.

[7] Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated Manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakāchārya Kathā", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 4, 1953-54, pp. 40-48.



Pl. 1. Top: Kālaka and the Sāhī chief. Bottom: Balamitra and his wife. Folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1370-1380.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

and the stylistic affinities with the Ujjamphoi *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1370, it is fairly certain that it belongs to the end of the third quarter of the fourteenth century or thereabouts. This dating of the manuscript is further supported by the use of letters for figures which is a common practice in palm-leaf manuscripts but rare in paper manuscripts.[8] Certain other features of the manuscript also deserve notice. So far as the composition is concerned the illustrator seems to have been acquainted with some of the painted *paṭṭis* of the twelfth century and later. The retention of older methods of composition might have been due either to the continuity of tradition, or perhaps the fact that the artist had facilities to refer to the older manuscripts.

However, the most interesting point in the Prince of Wales Museum *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā* is the appearance of the foreign Sāhīs, cast in the form of types seen in Persian painting. It may be suggested that the Sāhī types were borrowed from contemporary Muslim rulers, courtiers and soldiers who dressed in the Persian manner because of their strong bias in favour of everything Persian. But what seems more probable is that in the earliest of the *Kālaka* illustrations the Sāhīs, who are foreigners in the *Kālaka* story, were depicted by types borrowed from certain illustrated Persian manuscripts which were available to the Jain manuscript illustrators. It is not difficult to conceive that illustrated Persian manuscripts belonging to bibliophiles were made accessible to Jain illustrators through the good offices of their influential patrons. Once an illustrator had set the fashion for using a Persianised Mongol type to depict the Sāhīs it became an accepted norm. Though much is not known about the evolution of this Indo-Persian Sāhī type, somewhat similar types are to be found in Arab and Persian Painting.[9]

The Sāhī type must have been formulated in the fourteenth century. Our reason for thinking so is that in an illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* in the collection of Sarabhai Nawab[10] which according to us could not be later than the middle of the fourteenth century, the Indo-Persian Sāhī type had already emerged This is the earliest example known to us in which this type is seen. It is characterized by a broad face, slanting eyes with recurved eyebrows and the pupils rolled in a corner, drooping or curled moustaches, trimmed pointed beard—sometimes thick, sometimes thin—tapering to the ears and ruddy complexion. These Sāhīs wear a four-pointed conical cap trimmed with pearls, caftan made of rich thick flowered material patterned in circles, squares or arabesques and long boots eminently suitable for hard riding, so common to the Scythians. These long riding

[8] *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, pp. 61-69.
*Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949, pp. 35-39, figs. 99-105.
Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated Kalpasūtra painted at Jaunpur in A.D. 1465", *Lalit Kalā*, No 12, October 1962, pp. 9-15.

[9] G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Vol. I, Paris, 1913, Pl. VI.
E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting, XIIth-XVIIth Century*, London, 1929, Pls. LX and LXIII.
E. Blochet, *Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1911, Pls. 5 and 6.
R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Cleveland, 1962, p. 91.
Ph. Walter Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1914, Pls. 14-18.
A. J. Arberry, M. Minovi, and E. Blochet, *The Chester Beatty Library A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1959, Pl. 11 (*b*).
F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from 8th to the 18th Century*, Vol. 2, London, 1912, Pl. 13.

[10] *Śrī Kālakāchārya Kathā Saṅgraha*, ed. by A. P. Shah, Ahmedabad, 1949, p. 62, Pl. I, fig. 1-5.
Sarabhai Nawab, *The Collection of Kālaka Story*, Part I, Ahmedabad, 1958, Pl. I, figs. 1 to 5.

boots, a characteristic of the costumes worn by the Sāhīs, also seem to have been constantly used by Muslim Sultāns and their nobles as a regular feature of their dress. In the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*[11] there is a reference to Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq wearing long hunting boots which he asked some attendants to pull off as he wanted to rest somewhere for the night having become separated from his followers. So also Duarte Barbosa[12] who was in Gujarat in A.D. 1515 in the reign of Muzaffar Shāh II, observes that the gentry went about dressed in rich cloth of gold, silk and camlets and some of them had boots upto the knees worked in dainty devices. The Sāhī figures in the Prince of Wales Museum *Kālakāchārya Kathā* (Colour Pl. 1 and Fig. 3) resemble the figures in the *Kālaka* palm-leaf miniatures in the Sarabhai Nawab collection. Once the type was accepted in Western Indian or Gujarati painting it continued to exist for more than two hundred years though at times with variations such as are seen in the Sāhī figures of the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* MS. in Muni Punyavijayaji's collection, Ahmedabad (Colour Pl. 3), where the beard is narrow and markedly pointed at the chin. The headgear also is rather different being a somewhat flat domed crown the curves of which are trimmed with pearls, while a prominent pigtail in the Mongol fashion falls along the shoulder. The pigtail is also seen in other more or less contemporary manuscripts such as that of Śrī Vāḍī Pārśvanātha Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍār at Pāṭan which is a manuscript dated A.D. 1445, where it appears in several miniatures of the Kālaka story.[13] The wearing of a pigtail can hardly be related to fashions at the contemporary Sultanate courts and its appearance, therefore, indicates that the Sāhīs with pigtails are a frank imitation of Mongol types seen in Persian miniatures.[14] This circumstance rather strengthens our view-point that at least upto about *circa* A.D. 1475 when the famous *Kalpasūtra* of the Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār was painted, the costumes worn by the Sāhīs in the Jain miniatures of the Kālaka story do not reflect the mode of dressing which prevailed amongst the Muslim Sultāns and their nobles, but are just borrowed from the costumes seen in Arab and Persian painting.

The development of the Indo-Persian type in Indian painting during the Sultanate period of Gujarat raises the important question of Persian influence on the Western Indian or Gujarati school. It can be argued that the improved technique of draughtsmanship and the use of carmine, ultramarine and gold are due to Persian influence, and this may well be the truth. One thing, however, is clear namely that when the illustrators of the Jain manuscripts had to portray the Sāhīs of the Kālaka story it was but natural to represent these Scythians, of whom there existed no readily available prototype, by recourse to some of the Mongol looking kings and courtiers in Persian painting who appeared eminently suitable for depicting the foreigners.

It is evident from the illustrated manuscripts themselves that the tradition of the refined Western Indian or Gujarati style of the late fourteenth century continued during the first half of the fifteenth century. The earliest paper manuscript showing the continuance of this

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11 *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, Dharampur, n.d., pp. 1-2.

12 *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, translated and edited by M. Longworth Dames, (Hakluyt Society), Vol. I, London, 1918, pp. 120-121.

13 Sarabhai Nawab, *The Collection of Kālaka Story*, figs. 46 and 48. See also fig. 52 from a MS. dated A.D. 1446 and fig. 28 from a MS. dated A.D. 1416.

14 E. Blochet, *Miniatures persanes et Indo-persanes*, Jean Pozzi Collection, 1930, Colour Pl. 4, where the fashion of wearing pigtails and domed hats can be seen.

refined style is that of the *Supāsanāhachariyam* in the collection of Śrī Hemachandrāchārya Jñānamandir, Pāṭan.[15] It was written and illustrated in A.D. 1413 at Delvada in Mewar. Incidentally the provenance indicates that the Gujarati style also prevailed in Rajasthan. It is noticeable that in this manuscript the illustrator shows a competent handling of the problem of a somewhat larger composition while the draughtsmanship retains the sensibility of the work of the late fourteenth century. In some cases even full page illustrations are attempted. Plantains and other conventionalized trees and ragged hills painted blue, red and yellow, outlined with white and ultramarine clouds are characteristic features of the landscape.

In this style may also be mentioned the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* dated A.D. 1414 in the collection of Mr. P. C. Jain,[16] Bombay (Figs. 5-8). The miniatures are characterized by a highly developed technique; the draughtsmanship reveals grace; the limited landscape consisting mostly of the hills and trees is not lacking in liveliness, and an attempt is made to improve architectural drawing. But the chief appeal of the manuscript lies in its treatment of the Indo-Persian figures and their extensive use in the composition. In the scene depicting the meeting of the Sāhī king and Kālaka it may well be that the audience given by a contemporary Sultān to one of his subjects has formed the basis of the representation (Fig. 6). The Sāhī king is seated on an elaborately decorated and furnished throne with Kālaka on a stool in front. Behind Kālaka stands an attendant. In the foreground are shown two dappled horses and three Sāhī soldiers squatting on the floor. Here again the Sāhī soldiers may be adaptations from the palace guards of the Sultāns as seen by the illustrators. The dappled horses are portrayed by means of numerous spots over their bodies. This mannerism is undoubtedly borrowed from Persian painting and pottery where it is seen as early as the twelfth century in Rayy pottery (Fig. 205) and remains a stock cliché thereafter. Another court scene is even more elaborate (Fig. 7). Kālaka attended by a disciple is meeting the Sāhī king; five soldiers are squatting on the floor. Gardabhilla in manacles is being led by two soldiers and there are horses in the foreground in their full battle trappings. While in general the foreign Sāhī figures follow the type evolved in the late fourteenth century manuscripts, there is a suggestion in some figures of the projecting farther eye. It is interesting to note that though the farther projecting eye became a regular feature of the Jain manuscript illustrations, this mannerism is almost always avoided in the faces of the Sāhīs even when depicted in profile. It seems that the illustrators for some reason which is not clear assumed that the projecting eye should be a characteristic of only the Indian *dramatis personae*.

In another *Kālakāchārya* manuscript dated A.D. 1416[17] one may see the illustrator's attempt to loosen the rigidity of the traditional style. In one scene a flamboyant hill with splashes of blue and carmine is covered with trees and placed against a deep red background and blue sky. This suggests the beginnings of Rajasthani conventions of later days. In another miniature of the same manuscript tethered horses and elephants are waiting outside the king's court while a guard stands at the door. This is another convention which later became a regular feature in Mughal and Rajasthani paintings. But the original source from which it is derived is Persian painting. It is noteworthy that the use of ultramarine

[15] Sri Punyavijayaji, "Supāsanāhachariyamnī hasta-likhit pothimānā rangīn chitro", *Āchārya Śrī Vijaya-vallabha Sūri Smāraka Grantha*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 176 ff.

[16] We thank Mr. P. C. Jain for bringing his manuscript to our notice.

[17] Sarabhai Nawab, *The Collection of Kālaka Story*, Pl. IX, figs. 21-22; Pl. XII, figs 27-28.

unknown in earlier manuscripts is now introduced. In spite of these comparatively minor foreign intrusions, the hieratic art tradition of Western Indian or Gujarati painting held steadfast to its own well established modes of expression.

The Western Indian or Gujarati art tradition, however, took a more subtle turn at Mandu, the ancient Maṇḍapadurga, which was the former capital of Malwa, now merged with Madhya Pradesh. The Sultāns of Delhi extended their power over Malwa in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, but Mandu gained importance only with the government of Dilāwar Khān, the Tughluq governor, who assumed the royal title in A.D. 1401. The city built in A.D. 1406-07 was named Shādīābād (the City of Joy). Mahmūd Khān Khaljī ascended the throne in A.D. 1436 and reigned till A.D. 1469. He was a patron of learning and culture and founded several colleges for teaching philosophy, theology and literature. His renown seems to have reached the Islamic world, and he received embassies from the Tīmūrid ruler Abū Sa'īd of Transoxiana and Musta'id Bi'llah Yūsuf, the Caliph of Egypt. Flattered by their attention, he sent to them in return embassies with rare presents, such as "muslins of all descriptions, Arab horses, dancing women, and singers mounted on elephants superbly caparisoned, together with a number of Indian and Abyssinian slaves for the seraglio, and also a few meinas and parrots which had been taught the Persian language."[18] Interesting information about the cultural achievements of Mahmūd is given in Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[19] It is said that the king of Mandu, Mahmūd I (A.D. 1436-69) sent to Zain-ul-'Ābidīn of Kashmir a fibre named *darandāma*, a muslin of very superior grade. Mahmūd was himself a poet in Persian, and it is said that he sent a poem composed by himself to Zain-ul-'Ābidīn who appreciated it very much.

Mandu was also a stronghold of Jainism in the 11-12th century and there is reason to believe that it flourished in Malwa even during the Muslim rule. There seems to have been little objection to the Jains building their temples and illustrating their religious books. The reason for giving this latitude to the Jains is obvious. The Jain community controlled finance and trade and the Sultān felt it advisable to leave them alone in the interests of the kingdom's prosperity.

Hardly anything is known about the state of painting in Malwa during the period of the early Muslim occupation. However, three illustrated manuscripts, two of the *Kalpasūtra* (Colour Pl. 2 and Figs. 9-19), and one of the *Kālakāchārya* belonging to Muni Punyavijayaji (Colour Pl. 3 and Figs. 20-22) show that by A.D. 1439[20] Mandu had an individual style. Our stylistic analysis of these illustrations set out very fully in *Lalit Kalā* No. 6 supports the view that manuscripts illustrated in Malwa followed the general trends of the Western Indian or Gujarati school. However, in the fifteenth century the school of Malwa is characterized by a local flavour and careful execution, features which it shares with the illustrations of another provincial style, namely those of the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh, in A.D. 1465, which also we have analysed at length in our article in *Lalit Kalā* No. 12.

Sarabhai Nawab has published a manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* illustrated at Maṇḍapa-

[18] M. K. Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, tr. by J. Briggs, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1910, p. 232.

[19] Moti Chandra and V. S. Agrawala, "A Note on Some Cultural References in Śrīvara Paṇḍit's *Rājataranginī*", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No 7, 1959-62, p. 38.

[20] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "A Consideration of an Illustrated MS. from Maṇḍapadurga (Mandu), Dated 1439 A.D.", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 6, October 1959, pp. 8 ff.

durga (Mandu).[21] This *Kalpasūtra* formerly in the collection of Śrī Kāntivijayajī is now deposited in the Ātmānanda Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda. A part of the colophon is unfortunately missing but the remaining part mentions Maṇḍapadurga situated in Malwa Janapada, the home of many Jain millionaires. The incomplete colophon also mentions a Prāgavāṭa family in which was born Kāla who held the position of a chief minister; his son was also a minister apparently in the employment of the Sultāns of Malwa. Even though, the date is missing, yet on stylistic grounds it should not be later than A.D. 1425. The illustrations follow the usual Western Indian or Gujarati tradition as practised in Gujarat and Rajasthan. There is a general preference for ultramarine and gold. These must have been costly colours and their use indicates that the rich Jain mercantile community did not mind the cost whenever religion was concerned. Angularity in draughtsmanship is maintained, though the distortion of the figure, a common characteristic of the mass produced manuscripts of the later period, is avoided. Jain manuscript illustrations are usually very small with the result that the scope for composition is restricted. In this manuscript, however, there is a full page illustration depicting the marriage procession of Neminātha.[22]

The famous Mandu *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1439 (Colour Pl. 2 and Figs. 9-19), which we have already referred to, was presented to the National Museum by Āchārya Vijayendra Sūri. It stands in a class by itself because of its fine workmanship which can only be compared with that of the miniatures of the illustrated copy of the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* of Muni Punyavijayaji (Colour Pl. 3 and Figs. 20-22). It also invites comparison with the golden lettered *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of Haṁsavijayajī, now in the Narasiṁhajīnī Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda, written in A.D. 1465 at Yavanapura (Jaunpur) in the reign of Husain Shāh Sharqī, and also with the famous *Kalpasūtra* of the Devasāno Pāḍo, Ahmedabad datable to *c.* A.D. 1475. But, in spite of several points of resemblance with the other manuscripts above mentioned, the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* has an individual style distinguished for its grace. It has no elegant border decoration such as exists in the Jaunpur and Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtras* but it employs an advanced technique both in draughtsmanship and in the application of colours.

The Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 contains seventy-three folios of which four are missing. The folios measure 29 × 10.1 cm. The text, running into seven lines per folio, is written in gold letters on a crimson ground. The illustrations usually appear on the right side of the folio.

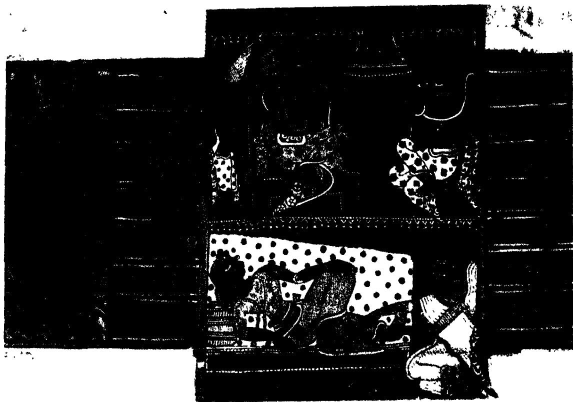
The colophon may be translated thus: "At this fort of Maṇḍapagarh in the Samvat year 1496, in the reign of King Mahmūd, Śrī Kshemahaṁsa Gaṇi, the foremost disciple of the master reciter Śrī Kshemakīrti Gaṇi, glorified by the presence of the reciters and venerable monks Somadhvaja Gaṇi, Bhāvarāja Gaṇi and Kshemarāja Gaṇi got this illustrated manuscript written for his own reading. May the text impart pleasure for a long time,"

It is clear from the text that the manuscript was written for one Kshemahaṁsa Gaṇi at Mandu in A.D. 1439 in the reign of Mahamūd Shāh Khaljī whose love of art and culture has been referred to above.

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21 *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, ed. by Sarabhai Nawab, figs. 164, 180, 189, 193, 204-206, 212, 213, 222, 226, 228, 229 and 234.
Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, figs. 155-168.

22 *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, Pl. LIII.
*Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, fig. 156.



Pl. 2. Upper register: King Siddhārtha conversing with Triśalā. Lower register: Triśalā reclining on the bed. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D 1439 National Museum, New Delhi.

A detailed study of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 reveals an evolved style which, though following the conventions of the Western Indian or Gujarati school, is superior in draughtsmanship, colouring, representation of details and finish to the general run of the *Kalpasūtra* illustrations. The background is uniformly red except in a rare case where blue is partly used to bring into prominence the figure of a horse. There is no attempt at perspective and the entire composition is divided into panels containing different episodes in the narration. In keeping with the convention of the Western Indian or Gujarati school, angularity is present in the delineation of the human face, but unlike the majority of the manuscripts that come from Gujarat, the nose is not markedly beaky and the point of the chin not so sharp. The farther projecting eye is however present. The structure of the face is also somewhat different in some respects from that seen in the general run of the *Kalpasūtra* illustrations from Gujarat. Though we find the same short neck, long vacuous oval eyes and receding rounded double chins, yet in the illustrations of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 the head is more flat at the top in comparison to the usually rounded head seen in most of these illustrations from Gujarat. Another difference is the noticeably narrow forehead, rising almost vertically from its commencement with the bridge of the nose, and not sloping backwards. The general effect of the faces of women in this manuscript as well

as in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 if visualized without the farther projecting eye[23] is akin to that of the faces of women in the *Laur-Chandā* miniatures in the Lahore Museum and Chandigarh Museum datable to A.D. 1525-1570.

There is no mistaking the circumstance that the influence of a local provincial idiom is present in several details of the Mandu miniatures. At the same time there is no gainsaying the fact that the Mandu miniatures of A.D. 1439 basically and substantially belong to the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition though there appears to be a conscious effort to avoid the usual exaggerations of the miniatures from Gujarat. Attention to minute details, refined colours and draughtsmanship give the Mandu miniatures a quality which is not to be found in most of the stereotyped illustrated *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts from Gujarat. It is true that ungainly placement of arms and occasional distortions of body may be seen in the Mandu miniatures of A.D. 1439, but attractive poses more than offset these shortcomings. In the majority of the manuscript illustrations from Gujarat and Rajasthan it is not possible to distinguish sex by reference to the treatment of the breasts while in the Mandu manuscript the treatment of the breasts is naturalistic (Fig. 16). It is of interest to note that in Fig. 16 in the lower panel Triśalā's breasts are so drawn as to show one breast intersecting the other. This is the earliest example of this mannerism which became quite common in the *Laur-Chandā* and *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of the sixteenth century which will be dealt with hereafter.

In the Mandu manuscript the hands and feet are fairly well drawn and the nails are indicated by white dots. At many places recourse is had to *mudrās* or hand gestures to express emotions. As is characteristic with the Western Indian or Gujarati style the male waist (Figs. 9 and 17) in the Mandu miniatures of A.D. 1439 tends to fullness while the female waist is narrow (Fig. 16) but not so narrow as in Gujarati manuscripts. Short squat figures seated on their haunches (Fig. 11) in two rows remind us of a similar row of figures in the illustrated manuscript of the *Mahāpurāna* dated A.D. 1540 (Fig. 142) which we will refer to in some detail hereafter.

The colours employed are red, carmine, blue (azurite), green (copper sulphate), yellow ochre, mauve and pink. Gold is used in painting ornaments and in certain details of furniture, architecture and landscape. Borders and dividing lines of the panels are invariably done in gold. At times the Jinas are also painted in gold, no doubt to emphasize the metallic lustre of their shining brassy prototypes. In many places where copper sulphate green, a brilliant and pleasing colour has been used, it has eaten through the texture of the paper which is prone to break at the slightest mishandling. The use of brilliant *peori* yellow is also seen. The illustrator was, however, fond of a sandalwood shade which is employed predominantly for flesh tones. Only in the case of the Jina figures the traditional colours are employed. There is a greater purity of colour in the miniatures of the Mandu manuscript of A.D. 1439 than is generally seen in the illustrated manuscripts of the fifteenth century.

The treatment of animals is both naturalistic and conventional. In the case of horses (Fig. 9), their powerful, rounded quarters and narrow aristocratic heads betoken Persian influence derived from Persian pottery or Persian manuscript illustrations. In that respect they continue the equine types of earlier Jain manuscripts (Fig. 6) all of which are derived from Persian pottery and painting. The manes of the horses are indicated by wiry strands of hair, a convention continued in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 (Colour Pl. 18-b)

[23] Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 2-24 and 49-56.

and also in early Rajasthani painting. The elephants are white or pink, and even blue in one miniature (Fig. 19). They are usually richly caparisoned and their hides are covered with painted designs. The treatment of bulls (Fig. 14) is quite naturalistic, while lions are heraldic and find their prototype in mediaeval Jain sculpture. As a matter of fact, in the treatment of birds and animals also there is an approximation between the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 and the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465. In both manuscripts the illustrators have made a conscious effort to draw and paint with care and not in the slipshod manner so common to numerous mass produced manuscripts of the Western Indian or Gujarati school.

As regards the treatment of landscape in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 the manner in which the sky is depicted is of special importance (Figs. 17-18). Here we are faced with the earliest forerunner of similar treatment of the sky in early Northern Indian painting as in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 (Fig. 150). The feature to be noted is that the sky has at its lower limit a curly white line of cloud bounded by a thin wavy black line. In the folio depicting Ārishṭanemi (Fig. 18) the treatment of the cloud is more dramatic consisting of double meandering lines, white and black, enclosing the blue surface of the sky. The fact that this treatment of the sky is adopted in early Northern Indian painting is one more indication of the dependence of the early Northern Indian style on early Jain manuscript illustration including its local variants. The same holds good about the treatment of trees. The tree types of Jain manuscript illustrations including such types as are seen in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* (Figs. 15 and 18) provided the basis for the tree types of early Northern Indian as well as of early Rajasthani painting.

Architectural details are reduced to a minimum. Usually the buildings are surmounted by a latticed terrace and topped with a low dome in the Tughluq style surmounted by a golden *kalaśa* (Figs. 12 and 13). That domes in these Mandu illustrations of A.D. 1439 should be in the Tughluq manner is but natural, for it is the Tughluq style that influenced architecture in Mandu since the commencement of the Malwa Sultanate. In one miniature the facade of a two-storeyed building is shown (Fig. 12). It appears to be a wooden structure with painted decorative details.

Interior decoration is simple. Beds with curved legs (Fig. 16), thrones in the shape of high-backed chairs or with ovaloid back and rectangular seats (Figs. 9 and 10), couches stools and an interesting hanging lamp are seen (Fig. 13). A constant feature of interior decoration is a *bandanwār* or a decorative fringe, which is represented fully or in part (Colour Pl. 2 and Figs. 10, 11, 13 and 16). It should be noted that in Pl. 2 and Figs. 13 and 16 in order to emphasize that Triśalā is lying on the white and red dotted quilt of the bed, the illustrator has depicted the quilt almost vertical and standing well above the head and unpraised knee of Triśalā. An identical treatment of the quilt appears in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* (Figs. 23, 25, 31 and 32) and again in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*.[24] This device may have been borrowed from Persian painting.[25]

The male costume and ornaments consist of a golden tiara, *dhotī* and *dupaṭṭā* (scarf). The *dhotī* is often decorated with floral and other designs. The men wear a three-pointed

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[24] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "A Consideration of an Illustrated MS. from Maṇḍapadurga (Mandu) Dated 1439 A.D.," *Lalit Kalā*, No. 6, October 1959, Pl. VII, fig. 27 (*b*).

[25] I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits tīmūrides*, Paris, 1954, Pl. XXIII (upper).

tiara edged with pearls, golden disc-like ear-rings, pearl necklaces, torques, bracelets and anklets. On their foreheads they have a V-shaped *tilaka* and their hair is knotted in a triple coil at the back. Only very rarely are moustaches represented (Fig. 10). In the treatment of the beards of the ascetics separate brush strokes indicate strands of hair (Fig. 11).

The female costume is of still greater interest. It consists of a patterned *sārī* tied round the waist and a waist sash to which is attached what looks like a pouch. The jacket, which is half sleeved, completely covers the navel while the *oḍhnī* (wimple) is draped over the jacket and head. In some folios the *oḍhnī* completely drapes the chest crossing it in a broad band (Colour Pl. 2 and Fig. 11). Moreover, the *oḍhnī* when covering the back of the coiffure, stands out balloon-like behind the head (Colour Pl. 2 and Fig. 11). The method of depicting the *oḍhnī* as a broad band across the chest in the Mandu manuscript of A.D. 1439 is the earliest instance known to us of this feature which is characteristic of the *Mahāpurāṇa* dated A.D. 1540 (Colour Pls. 17, 18 and 19, Figs. 143, 144, 148, 150, 151, 154) and certain other sixteenth century manuscript illustrations such as the *Chaurapañchāśikā*[26] (Colour Pl. 20) where it is transparent, the *Gīta Govinda* of the Prince of Wales Museum (Colour Pl. 22),[27] the *Daśama Skanda* of the Jodhpur Darbār[28] and the *Gīta Govinda* of the N. C Mehta Collection.[29] Thus in the *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 we find the beginning of a marked characteristic of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century style of Northern India and we observe it again in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465. The other feature namely the *oḍhnī* standing out balloon-like behind the head is seen in Jain manuscript illustrations even earlier than the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439, for it appears even in the manuscripts of the fourteenth century.[30] But this feature is also characteristic of the sixteenth century style of Northern India which seems to have adopted it from the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 and the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465. The treatment of this mannerism in the sixteenth century Northern Indian style is closest to the treatment of the balloon-like *oḍhnī* as seen in the above mentioned Mandu and Jaunpur *Kalpasūtras*.

The *sārī* is decorated with varieties of patterns. There is no doubt that the painter, with his love for details, has taken great pains to represent accurately the contemporary textile patterns. The ornaments worn by women are somewhat similar to those worn by men, but in addition they also wear gold *chūrīs* (bangles) and heavy anklets and a series of rosettes and *chūḍāmaṇi* (head-ornament) in their hair-parting (Colour Pl. 2). It should be noted that one characteristic of the Gujarati manuscript illustrators is to give the disc like earrings exceptional prominence by extending them from the lobe to the shoulder and only showing the nearer earring and never the farther one [Colour Pls. 1 (Bottom) and 2].

Another manuscript in the style of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 is a *Kālakāchārya Kathā* in the collection of Muni Punyavijayaji[31] (Figs. 20-22). It contains twenty-four folios,

[26] N. C. Mehta and Moti Chandra, *The Golden Flute*, New Delhi, 1962, Pl. 2.

[27] Karl Khandalavala, "A Gīta Govinda Series in the Prince of Wales Museum", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 4, 1953-54, Pl. I, fig. 1; Pl. II, fig. 1; Pl. III, fig. 1.

[28] Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 11, fig. 8.

[29] *The Golden Flute*, Pl. 3.

[30] *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, ed. by Sarabhai Nawab, figs. 51 and 80.
Moti Chandra, *Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India*, figs. 49 and 56.

[31] We thank Muni Punyavijayaji and Dr. Pramod Chandra for bringing this MS. to our notice.
See Pramod Chandra, "A Unique Kālakācārykathā MS. in the Style of the Mandu Kalpasūtra of A.D. 1439", *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, Vol. I, November 1967, pp. 1-10, figs. 1-20.

each folio measuring 29.2×9.8 cm. There are twenty illustrations, each of them measuring on an average 8.2×9.3 cm. Though the manuscript has no colophon the stylistic similarities with the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 leave no doubt in our minds that it was painted at Mandu about the same period namely, A.D. 1435-1440. The male and female types, dress and ornaments, and elements of landscape such as the trees, clouds and animals indicate a common place of origin for both manuscripts.

The draughtsmanship in this *Kālaka* manuscript is a little bolder than in the *Kalpasūtra*. In some respects the figures remind us of those on the early *paṭṭīs*. The flow of lines in Fig. 20 is particularly effective and so also in the scene of Śakra disguised as an old man (Fig. 21). Yet when the same subject (Fig. 21) is compared to that in the earlier Prince of Wales Museum *Kālaka Kathā* (Fig. 4) the latter stands out as a more vital and expressive representation of the theme. Even though the fifteenth century illustrations are more elaborate and richly coloured than the earlier ones, yet some of the best fourteenth century manuscripts such as the Prince of Wales Museum *Kālaka Kathā* are hard to rival. In the Mandu style we note that while the monks, kings and the gods affect an imposing personality, tall and graceful, the attendants and devotees have squat figures.

The bold treatment of the female figures in the Mandu *Kālaka Kathā* (Fig. 22) contrasts with that of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 and hearkens back to the painted book covers of the twelfth century. There are differences also in the interior decoration of the Mandu *Kālakāchārya* illustrations and those of the *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439. For instance, the high-backed chair in the latter (Figs. 9 and 10) is a plain piece of furniture, while in the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* it is moulded, painted and lacquered and overlaid with richly patterned coverlets (Figs. 20 and 21). Even the *bandanwārs* or decorative fringes are of richer material as is evident from a star-spangled *bandanwār* (Fig. 22). The appearance of textile and carpet patterns in the sky in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* (Figs. 167 and 171) has been considered to be a survival of such kind of decorative fringes, though it is far more likely that the idea directly stems from Persian painting.

The treatment of clouds in the Mandu *Kālakāchārya* manuscript (Figs. 20 and 21) also deserves attention. Though following the same conventions as seen in the *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439, they are more dramatized in the *Kālakāchārya* manuscript (compare Figs. 18 and 21). The tree types (Fig. 20) are precursors of sixteenth century painting, but this can also be said of the tree types in most Jain manuscripts. Another feature is the band with merlons and floral meander separating the panels as in the Ass Magic scene. Such a band appears in the *Laur-Chandā* illustrations in the Prince of Wales Museum and later in the paintings of the so called Malwa idiom. Whenever the Sāhīs appear in the Mandu *Kālakāchārya* the usual Mongol type from Persian painting which had now become an established convention is used (Colour Pl. 3). They wear flat domed crowns trimmed with pearls and richly patterned and embroidered *jāmas*. These Sāhīs in the Mandu *Kālakāchārya*, so closely related to Mongol types with their flat domed crowns and pigtails, can hardly have been derived from the contemporary Sultanate court of Mandu. By about A.D. 1500 when the *Ni'mat Nāma* and *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* were painted, the Sultān and courtiers of Mandu were certainly not wearing such costumes or headgears or affecting pig-tails. Moreover, when one turns to another *Kālakāchārya* painted at Pāṭan in A.D. 1416,[32] one finds the Sāhī king and his

[32] Sarabhai Nawab, *The Collection of Kālaka Story*, Ahmedabad, fig. 32.



Pl. 3. Meeting of the Sāhī chief and Kālaka. Folio from the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Probably painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1430-1440. Muni Punyavijayaji Collection, Ahmedabad.

soldiers more or less similarly dressed as in the Mandu *Kālakāchārya* save for a difference in the head gear. Even apart from the fact that the *Ni'mat Nāma*[33] of the early sixteenth century does not suggest that the Mandu Sultāns dressed in the manner seen in Colour Pl. 3, a study of a sufficient number of *Kālakāchārya* manuscripts indicates that the costumes of the Sāhīs as well as their physical types were borrowed by the Jain illustrators from Persian manuscript illustrations and were continued in use without reference to the costumes worn at the provincial Sultanate courts. One exception must, however, be noted. We believe the costumes and head gear in the Devasāno Pāḍo·*Kalpasūtra* are those of the contemporary Gujarat court. We will deal with this matter later.

After a lapse of almost a quarter of a century, a *Kalpasūtra* illustrated in another corner of India suggests that at this period of time there existed a class of manuscript illustrators whose field of operation extended from Pāṭan in Gujarat to Jaunpur in Uttar Pradesh and who, in spite of the limitations imposed by the hieratic tradition, lost no opportunity in introducing innovations or variations. To this class of opulent Jain illustrated paper manuscripts belongs the *Kalpasūtra* written and illustrated at Jaunpur in A.D. 1465 in the reign of Husain Shāh Sharqī. The manuscript belonged to the late Haṁsavijayajī and is now in

[33] R. Skelton, "The Ni'mat nama: A Landmark in Malwa Painting", *Mārg*, Vol. XII, No. 3, June 1959, pp. 44-50.

Narasiṁhajī nī Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda (Colour Pl. 4 and Figs. 23-44).[34] It has eighty-six folios, each folio measuring approximately 27.3×11.5 cm. There are eight miniatures and seventy-four decorative borders. The colophon reads as follows:

"In the Samvat year 1522 (A.D. 1465) on Friday, the second day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada in the reign of Husain Shāh of Jaunpur, Śrāvikā Harshiṇī, daughter of the banker Sahasarāja, wife of Saṅghavī Kālidāsa, of Śrīmālī caste with their son Dharmadāsa, got the *Kalpasūtra* written. It was revised by Upādhyāya Kamalasaṁyama by the order of Śrī Jinachandra Sūri, an ornament of the sacred seat of Śrī Jinabhadra Sūri of Kharataragachchha. It was written and illustrated by Kāyastha Veṇīdāsa, son of Paṇḍita Karmasiṁha Gauḍa. For the welfare of all".

The colophon is self explanatory except for the short inscription in the roundel mentioning Śrāvikā Harshiṇī as daughter of the banker Sahasarāja. It has been suggested by U.P. Shah that the lady was the illustrator of the *Kalpasūtra* which is highly improbable.[35] The addition of the name of Harshiṇī was either an after thought or it was with a view to pinpoint the attention of the readers to the name of the donor. The illustrator, writer and decorator of the manuscript, however, seems to have been Veṇīdāsa, as the term *likhitam* appearing with Veṇīdāsa in Sanskrit stands both for writing and painting. There are many instances of the Kāyasthas being scribes as well as illustrators. For instance, the colophons of the illustrated manuscript of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516 and the *Ādi Purāṇa* dated A.D. 1540 inform us that in their preparation the Kāyasthas were not only employed as writers but illustrators as well. It is obvious that the illustrations in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* are the work of a very skilled professional artist and we find it difficult to believe that a Jain merchant's daughter had attained that proficiency in painting.

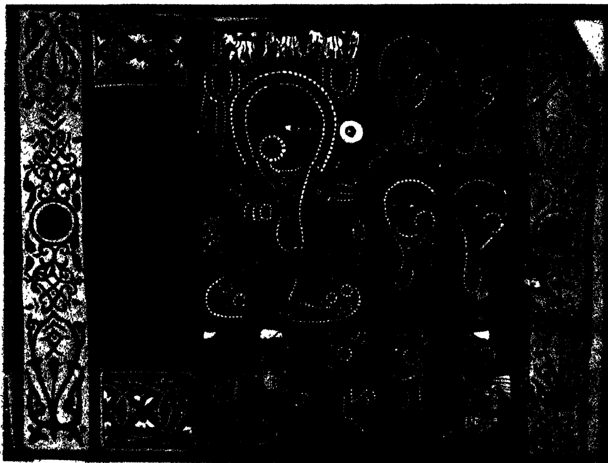
The reason why Jaunpur should be a centre of such an opulent style can be gleaned from the contemporary historical scene. Jaunpur was the capital of cultured Sultāns who loved literature and architecture. It was also the city of a flourishing Jain community some of whom must have been of Gujarati and Rajasthani origin such as the Śrīmālī caste to which Harshinī, the donor of the manuscript, belonged. Jaunpur, one of the most important cities in northern India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was eminently suitable for the development of trade, commerce and banking in which Jain merchants specialized. The *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati[36] written in the early fifteenth century speaks very highly about the prosperity of the city. Its fortifications were strong and beautiful and its gardens attractive. The crowded markets of Jaunpur were well stocked with spices, cloth and jewellery. The city had different quarters for artisans. Vidyāpati, however, had a low opinion of the Turkish soldiers in the Sultanate army whose uncouth habits and gluttony he condemns. Turkish soldiers were commonly in the employ of the various Sultanates in India.

The real importance of the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465, apart from its merits as an example of book production, lies in the fact that along with the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 it forms the basis for the evolution of the style of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā*

[34] *Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, ed. by Sarabhai Nawab, pp. 53-54, figs. 183-185.
Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, pp. 35-39, figs. 99-105.
Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated Kalpasūtra Painted at Jaunpur in A.D. 1465" *Lalit Kalā*, No. 12, October 1962, pp. 9-15.

[35] U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 34-35.

[36] Vidyāpati, *Kīrtilatā*, ed. by V. S. Agrawala, (Hindi), Jhansi, 1962, pp. 57 ff.



Pl. 4. Triśalā witnessing a dance performance. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Polnā Jñāna Bhanḍār, Baroda.

group of paintings which we believe was prevalent in the sixteenth century from Delhi to Jaunpur. If the female type in this Jaunpur manuscript is carefully analysed disregarding the farther projecting eye, we find a type with flat head, wiry body and drapery standing out stiffly at angles therefrom.[37] This is the type from which the *Chaurapañchāśikā* female type could well have developed. In this manuscript one may also see the cliché of men and women seated at the farther edge of cushions, bedcovers and carpets (Figs. 27, 28 and 37), a formula also appearing in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group and continued long thereafter. So also the wavy cloud cutting the upper corners of the picture space and already observed in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 (Figs. 12 and 17) can be seen (Figs. 41 and 42). This device is common in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. One of the most notable features of the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* is the presence of turbaned musicians (Colour Pl. 4 and Figs. 38, 40). This type of turban is repeatedly seen in the Rylands Library *Laur-Chandā* manuscript (Fig. 177) which we are of the opinion, in all probability, belongs to the Jaunpur area though painted

[37] Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 13, fig. 13.

much later.[38] Women folk in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* illustrations like those in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 (Colour Pl. 2) often wear the *oḍhnī* as a broad band across the breasts, (Figs. 30 and 32) a feature seen invariably in the *Mahāpurāṇa* dated A.D. 1540[39] and also in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

Thus at Jaunpur in the second half of the fifteenth century there were skilled illustrators who must have produced several elaborate manuscripts such as the present one. The presence of a flourishing group of professional manuscript illustrators can be predicated at Jaunpur as the manuscript of A.D. 1465 is not likely to be an isolated example. Moreover, Jaunpur, it seems, continued to be a centre of painting in the sixteenth century also. There is a folk style illustrated manuscript of the *Laur-Chandā* in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Colour Pl. 10) which we believe comes from the Jaunpur area and also a superior type of manuscript illustrating the same story now in the Prince of Wales Museum (Colour Pl. 24 and Figs. 156-175), which also we ascribe to the Jaunpur area.

The reason why we believe that the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* is not an isolated phenomenon is that its illustrations indicate a deep rooted tradition. There is no doubt about the intimate relationship between the Jaunpur and Western Indian or Gujarati styles, and this is but natural owing to the wide prevalence of the Western Indian or Gujarati style all over the country, particularly at centres where there were Jain congregations. But at the same time it will not be proper to doubt the specific points in the Jaunpur style which give it its individuality. It shares with the Western Indian or Gujarati style of the fifteenth century an inordinate fondness for gold as a flesh colour (Colour Pl. 4) which, though showing the richness of the patrons who commissioned the manuscript, reflects sadly on their taste. This purposeless use of gold as a body colour imparts a metallic tone to the figures, hides the body contours, and relegates the figures to the class of mass produced metal images cluttering many Jain temples. But the figures which have escaped this convention, of both men and women, have yellow, sandal and golden brown complexions. The figures may be divided into two types. In one type the Western Indian or Gujarati clichés appear. But in a more sophisticated type we find the survival of some regional elements whose origins have yet to be determined, but whose parallels may be found in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439. The chief characteristics of this type are as follows:

1. In the figure drawing may be observed restrained draughtsmanship which eliminates the exaggeration of the chest and palsied contortions of the hands.
2. The angularity of certain features continues but it is no longer meaningless and seems to strive to achieve coherence of the body contours.
3. The projection of the farther eye also continues but its removal would not disturb the face. When viewed without the farther eye this is the facial type which appears to have influenced the illustrated manuscripts of the first half of the sixteenth century such as the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and the *Mahapūrāṇa* of A.D. 1540.

The Western Indian or Gujarati style being hieratic, the *dramatis personae* move within their prescribed fields, with the result that their movements are restricted. Moreover, they

[38] Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra, Pramod Chandra and Parameshwari Lal Gupta, "A New Document of Indian Painting", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, October 1961, pp. 45-54.

[39] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "Three New Documents of Indian Painting", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 7, 1959-62, pp. 23-27.

often remind us of prototypes in metal and stone to which they were indebted. But whenever they had the opportunity of breaking away from hieratic formulae, as for instance, in the scenes of dancing and music, we find a perceptible loosening of the accustomed rigidity, which is pleasing. This freedom of expression is also seen in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* (Colour Pl. 4 and detail in Fig. 40).

Though aesthetically the work of the Jaunpur illustrator may not be classed as of a very high order, yet the brilliant but thoughtful application of colours, drawing which shows the spirit of experimentation, the rich border patterns which are not only borrowed from indigenous sources, but also from the coloured tiles of Muslim monuments and palaces and the writing on deep red and blue surfaces combine to give the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* a richness and luxury which is indeed attractive.

The existence of an independent school of painting sharing almost all the characteristics of the Western Indian or Gujarati school in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar is further supported by a unique palm-leaf manuscript of the Buddhist work *Kālachakratantra* in the collection of the Cambridge University Library[40]. Its painted wooden covers are of considerable significance for the history of Indian painting as they show that the Western Indian or Gujarati school was not a localized mode of expression confined only to Gujarat, Rajasthan, Malwa and Jaunpur but had become a form of expression common to many parts of India. The colophon of the manuscript states that it was caused to be written by the Buddhist monk Jñānaśrī in Vikrama Samvat 1503-A.D. 1446. The donor of the manuscript was Jñānaśrī. We are further informed that it was written and illustrated by one Jayarāmadatta, a resident of village Keraka and who was also the headman *śāsika* of the village of Ara. The latter village can with some measure of confidence be identified with the present town of Arrah (Ara) in Bihar, particularly because Jayarāmadatta the scribe is called an inhabitant of Magadha. The term *likhitam* in the colophon can mean that Jayarāmadatta was the scribe (Karana-Kāyastha) and also the illustrator.

The colophon establishes several facts which are of interest for the history of Indian painting. Firstly, it suggests that inspite of all persecutions Buddhism survived in small pockets in Bihar and followed Tāntric doctrines faithfully. Moreover, it indicates the existence of the ancient practice of important texts being copied and illustrated and the familiarity of monks and illustrators with Buddhist iconography and the Jātaka stories. Secondly, it is evident from contemporary illustrated Jain manuscripts from western India and nearer home from Jaunpur, that Kāyasthas were employed both as scribes and painters. Therefore, a school of Kāyasthas in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar carrying on the vocation of painting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has its beginnings in the fifteenth century, if not earlier. Though the folios are not illustrated, the wooden covers on both sides are painted. The inside has figures of Buddhist divinities while on the outside are scenes from Jātaka stories.

In general, red, yellow and green are used. White is used for certain iconographical details, and a dark blue black tone is employed for backgrounds spotted with flowers. The majority of attendant figures have brown complexions. In the use of basic colours the *Kālachakra* manuscript not only follows the ancient tradition of Pāla painting, but also shows

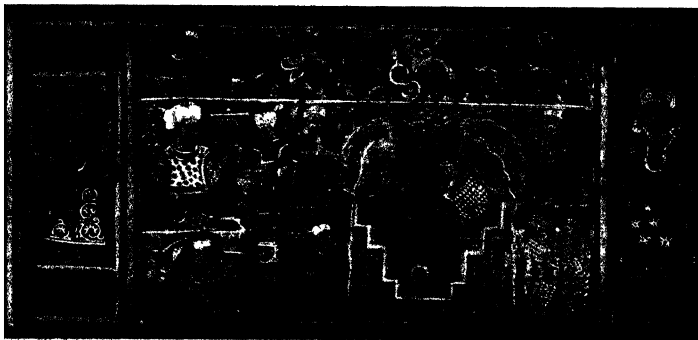
[40] Pratapaditya Pal, "A New Development of Indian Painting", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1965, pp. 103-111, Pls. I-X. There is another manuscript the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* dated Samvat 1512/A.D. 1455, in the collection of Shri Haridas Swali, in a somewhat similar style.

affinity to the palette of Western Indian or Gujarati painting. It, however, eschews the use of gold and ultramarine which had become common in the opulent period of the Western Indian or Gujarati style.

The most interesting features of the *Kālachakra* illustrations are the sharp linear draughtsmanship and the extension of the farther eye—features which the Arrah manuscript shares with the Western Indian or Gujarati school. The figures of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and of gods and goddesses all have sharp pointed noses, long eyes with prolonged ends, pointed chins and rather indifferently drawn hands and feet. The protrusion of the farther eye is a common feature except when figures are represented in frontal view. The exaggeration of the human figures is still more pronounced in the figures of attendants and acolytes. Though Dr. Pal has suggested stylistic resemblances between the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 and the *Kālachakra* covers from Arrah, it is really the Jaunpur manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1465 which is of greater interest in evaluating the style of the *Kālachakra* covers. Jaunpur, in fact, is not more than a hundred miles from Arrah. Both seem to owe their origin to a common style though with a notable difference, namely, that while the figure drawing in the *Kālachakra* book covers tends to be folkish in character, in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 the artist has taken every care within the limitations imposed by the Western Indian or Gujarati style, to give the illustrations a superior quality. It is also significant to note that the figure drawing in the *Kālachakra* book covers is somewhat nearer to the figure drawing in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's *Laur-Chandā* (Figs. 99 and 100) and the Indian figures in one of the folios of the *Sikandar Nāma* (Fig. 102). The birds and animals in the Arrah manuscript which are highly stylized may also stem from a common origin. A serpent coiled round a rock reminds us of similar treatment in Jain miniatures. The treatment of the horse with its broad quarters narrow head and neck and thin angular legs is reminiscent of horses in a folio of *Sikandar Nāma* (Fig. 112) both no doubt being derived from horses in the Western Indian or Gujarati manuscript illustrations (Fig. 6) which in their turn were influenced by Persian prototypes.

While Mandu and Jaunpur were developing new trends in the Western Indian or Gujarati style, Gujarat itself did not lag far behind, though being the centre of conservative Jainism it seems to have been a little tardy in absorbing innovations in manuscript illustration. But once the Gujarati illustrators had become alive to the spirit of change, development was accelerated. It is evident from the illustrated scroll of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* that at least by A.D. 1450 the ideals and scope of the Western Indian or Gujarati style had been considerably widened. The artists no longer considered that illustrating a Jain manuscript, however much an act of piety was sufficient to satisfy the new artistic urge of the patrons who were displaying a desire for better productions. The acceptance of this new way of thinking must also have resulted in a growing demand for manuscripts with secular themes, though unfortunately from this class the only survivor of the fifteenth century is the *Vasanta Vilāsa*.[41] Here we are no longer concerned with the traditional episodes from the lives of the Jinas or the adventures of saint Kālaka, but with the joys of love and spring and with the appropriate landscape in which the action takes place. There is no doubt that in the illustrations of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* one observes the loosening of the fetters of hide-bound tradition resulting in freer movement, a feeling for landscape and an understanding of the

[41] W. Norman Brown, *Vasanta Vilāsa*, Connecticut, 1962, pp. 1-8.



Pl. 5 Kālaka retrieving the ball fallen in the lake for the Sāhī chief. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c*. A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

spirit of the poems they illustrated. These features later on found expression in illustrated Avadhī romances such as *Laur-Chandā* and also became the guiding spirit of Northern Indian and Rajasthani painting in general.

Even the traditional Gujarati style Jain book illustrations did not remain immune to these new developments in the field of painting. Unfortunately, hieratic tradition stood in the way of accepting the new art concepts easily. But there is no doubt that in Gujarat there arose a class of Jain patrons who spent lavishly on getting their *Kalpasūtras* and *Kālakāchārya Kathās* illustrated sumptuously. The majority of the manuscripts, however, were produced mechanically, and though they served to satisfy the piety of their donors, they are hardly of any artistic significance. In this opulent class of manuscripts of the paper period may be mentioned the famous *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā* in the collection of late Muni Dayāvimalajī now deposited in Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, and first made known by Dr. Norman Brown.[42] (Colour Pls. 5, 6, 7, and Figs. 45-96). It consists of 187 folios, each measuring 26 × 11.5 cm. The text is written in gold ink on blue, red, deep purple and black backgrounds. The manuscript was prepared at the request of Śāṇā and Jūṭhā who lived in Gandhār Bandar near Broach. Unfortunately, the part of the colophon

[42] W. Norman Brown, "A Jain Manuscript from Gujarat Illustrated in Early Western Indian and Persian Styles", *Ars Islamica*, Vol. IV, 1937, pp. 154-172.
*Jaina Chitrakalpadruma*, ed. by Sarabhai Nawab, p. 54.
Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, p. 39.
Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 10.

containing the date is missing but on stylistic grounds it could hardly be later than *c.* A.D. 1475 though Basil Gray in the *Art of India and Pakistan* thought it must be after A.D. 1514 because of the presence of muskets in one of the illustrations (Fig. 62). Gray assumed that muskets were first used in Persia at the battle of Chāldirān in A.D. 1514 and regarded the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* as belonging to some date thereafter. We do not intend to enter into a discussion on the niceties of nomenclature in distinguishing between muskets and hand-guns. That hand-guns (though technically not muskets) were used long before A.D. 1514, in India is quite certain. In the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* it is stated that at the siege of Junagadh in A.D. 1472 muskets were used. The same source mentions that Mahmūd Begarha sent against Dabhol a powerful army furnished with both cannons and muskets. This was before A.D. 1493. In the *Rās Mālā*[43] it is stated that in A.D. 1482 Mahmūd Shāh I of Gujarat fitted a fleet against the pirates of Bulsar on board of which he embarked gunners and musketeers from Cambay. Douglas Barrett of the British Museum kindly consulted Russell Robinson of the Tower of London as to whether the fire-arms which appear in the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript (Fig. 62) are muskets or hand-guns. Russell Robinson doubted very much that they are matchlocks (muskets), but they could in his opinion be hand-guns. Matchlocks, he states, are not likely to have reached India earlier than the sixteenth century, but hand-guns were in general use in Europe in the first half of the fifteenth century and may well have spread to the eastern Mediterranean and the Turkish province of Egypt whence they could have come to Gujarat by the second half of the fifteenth century. Thus the presence of hand-guns is quite compatible with our dating of *circa* A.D. 1475. Moreover, in the Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār itself there is a *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* dated A.D. 1472 with marginal decoration which is stylistically similar to that of the *Kalpasūtra* though not so gorgeous and elaborate as the *Kalpasūtra* and lacking the Persianised vignettes. Both these manuscripts belong more or less to the same date and are probably by the same hand. Hence it is not likely that the *Kalpasūtra* could be much later than *circa* A.D. 1475 if at all.

Recently another manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* has been discovered with figural decoration and a style somewhat similar to that of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. It is dated A.D. 1501.[44] Judging from the photographs we have seen we feel it is not so splendid as the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript and is possibly a later effort by an artist who had seen the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript and sought to emulate it.

1. A feature of the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript is the richness of the illustrations. The composition is no longer confined to small squares but occupies the entire folio, a development which has been noticed even earlier than A.D. 1450. The miniatures are further enriched by very interesting border decorations. In the larger compositions the entire space is divided into two or three horizontal registers which continue the narrative in a straight forward fashion. The action takes place against a plain monochrome red or ultramarine background. The monotony of this plain background is often relieved by simple architectural details, furniture and trees.

2. It is remarkable that so far as the Indian figures in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* are concerned, there is hardly any perceptible effort to depart from the conventional types.

[43] A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, p. 282.

[44] Moti Chandra and U. P. Shah, "New Documents of Jaina Paintings", *Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Part I, ed. by A. N. Upadhye and others, Bombay, 1968, p. 387, figs. 12-13.

The marked angularity of the body contours, exaggeration of the chest and extension of the farther eye are continued. It may be observed here that though the figure drawing in the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript has none of the studied refinements of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 nor even those of the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 yet a certain mobility of expression invests the figures with considerable charm. In the treatment of female figures, however, the illustrator of the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript follows different modes of expression. Though commonly all the exaggerations of the Western Indian or Gujarati style appear, yet in the figures of female dancers the drawing is more studied, the movements are more lyrical and the abandon of the dance is well rendered. May be the illustrator had for his models the representations of dancers carved in wood in the early Jain wooden temples (Fig. 56) though Jain stone and marble temples could also have afforded him many prototypes. There is as yet, another class of female dancers whose representation seems to have been based on an Indianised Persian type (Figs. 68 and 69). This type has a round, somewhat Mongolian face in three quarter profile or full view, eyes with recurved brows and double chin; the farther eye as in the case of the foreign Sāhis is never seen protruding. But the influence of a Persian type ends there for in the movements of hands and feet, gestures and costume the figures are Indian.

3. The colours are so rich that often, except in the border decoration, they tend to become somewhat overpowering. Gone are the days of indigo blue, orpiment, sandal and deep reds soberly applied. The wealth of the bankers who commissioned the manuscript is proclaimed in no uncertain fashion and this often leads to the indiscriminate and lavish use of costly gold and ultramarine. It seems almost certain that the Jain manuscript illustrators had been influenced in the extensive use of gold by Persian painting. They appear to have been fascinated by it, but never quite grasped its functional aspects. Hence their use of gold is somewhat vulgar when compared to the exquisite manner in which the Persians used it even in paintings where its application was extensive. So also the constant use of ultramarine and red in all available parts of the composition though adding to the richness of the illustrations is aesthetically rather disturbing. This latter aspect, however, in all probability never troubled the illustrator or his patron.

4. Though the landscape is elementary with stylized trees, lotus lakes and water indicated in the conventional basket pattern (Fig. 53), it takes delightful forms in the border decorations. Trees are treated in the following manner:

*(a)* The crown of the tree is ovaloid and on it are painted twigs and foliage. This is the usual convention (Fig. 53) in Western Indian or Gujarati painting.

*(b)* The leaves and branches are at times painted naturalistically while dotted circles indicate flowers.

*(c)* Spray-like trees intrude across the composition as in Figs. 57 and 58. This compositional device is borrowed from Persian painting where it makes its appearance as early as the twelfth century A.D. in the miniatures of the *Maqāmāt of al-Harīrī* and the *Fables of Bidpai.*[45] It is also seen in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 (Fig. 44).

Lack of variety of the landscape in the illustrations proper seems to have been due to the exigencies of the subject-matter and not due to any technical shortcomings of the illustrator.

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[45] E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pls. IX, XIV, XV, XVIII and XX.

Though thwarted by hieratic considerations, he treated the landscape sympathetically whenever the opportunity arose in the border decoration where he was free to pursue his own vision. For instance, in the treatment of the lotus pond appearing in the auspicious dreams of Triśalā, his sympathy for landscape is evident. In the early Jain manuscripts this motif was treated somewhat symbolically, but here the circular lotus lake with aquatic birds appears in a garden with decoratively treated trees (Fig. 53). Apparently the understanding of nature by the artist of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* was the commencement of a new awakening. This new approach to nature had already begun to make itself felt not only in the *Vasanta Vilāsa* but also in the earliest illustrations of the *Bālagopāla Stuti*[46] which are ascribable to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The very theme of Kṛishṇa with his cowherd companions and the fair amorous *gopīs* in the enchanted woodlands of Brindāwan by the waters of the Jamunā must have been a powerful factor in inducing the illustrators of the Jain manuscripts to treat this Vaishṇava allegory with all the lyricism in which it was garbed.

5. However, it is in the border decoration of the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript that the illustrator found the fullest expression of his decorative genius. His inventive skill imbues the landscape, which is one of the important elements of the border panels with sympathy and understanding hitherto unknown in Jain illustrated manuscripts. The woodland or more probably the royal park in which animal fights are taking place is represented by a tracery of delicate flowering trees and plants (Figs. 49 and 50). The inspiration for such a motif may have been derived from hunting-carpets of Persian origin. In other places, however, the treatment of a woodland or park is less ambitious and indicated by a few trees, twigs and sprays. Here again the inspiration may have come from some contemporary indigenous or imported textile patterns. Trees standing alone or in conjunction with flowering plants, birds and animals form another important element of the border decoration (Figs. 85-88) being treated independently. In the treatment of the tall palm the fronds and knots of the trunk are most realistically depicted (Fig. 85), but to balance the composition the interspaces are filled with flowering plants and a short *khajura* tree; a couple of parrots on the top complete the picture. In the treatment of another tree (Fig. 86), while the foliage is sparse, the veins and knots of the trunk are emphasized. The flying and roosting birds and a lively monkey climbing the tree all add to the piquant charm of the panel. In a third type (Fig. 87) the knotted tree trunk has branches swarming with birds which also appear in the foreground. The fourth type (Fig. 88) is painted on an arabesque background. From the knotted and veined tree trunk shoot out delicate branches carrying flowers. It is the playground of monkeys climbing and jumping from branch to branch. Such monkeys also appear in the *Vasanta Vilāsa* and other manuscripts of the Western Indian or Gujarati style. Certain of the illustrations to the *Saṅgrahaṇī Sūtra* give scope for somewhat similar scenes. Curly lines of cloud appear in one scene (Fig. 72) but one of the most significant features of the border decoration is the presence of the curled and ribbon-like Chinese cloud forms interspersed with rosettes (Figs. 66 and 67). This type of cloud which is borrowed directly from Persian painting makes its first appearance in India in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and a *Bālagopāla Stuti* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (U.S.A.) (Fig. 97), which must belong

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46 W. Norman Brown, "Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings from Western India", *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, pp 167-206



a.



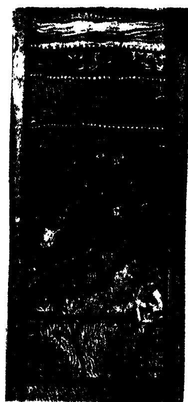
b.



c.



d.



e.



f.

Pl. 6(a-f). Border decorations of folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

approximately to the same period. This very attractive type of cloud form seems to have fascinated many illustrators for not only do we find it in the fifteenth century manuscripts of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and the Boston *Bālagopāla Stuti* but later in the sixteenth century it became a cliché in some manuscripts such as the *Laur-Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Anyway, its presence in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*, and the Boston Museum *Bālagopāla Stuti* affords indisputable proof that the illustrators of these manuscripts had access to Persian book illustrations from which they derived this cloud form as well as several other motifs, subjects, and influences.

There are some border panels which show that the illustrator was capable of combining several elements to obtain a picturesque landscape. The rainy weather was a favoured subject. It gave him an opportunity to represent a dramatic sky with red and white wriggly lines painted on a deep ultramarine ground (Colour Pl. 6c and Fig. 72), while rainfall was indicated by vertical white lines and drops and the exhilaration of nature by birds streaking across the rain swept sky, or catching rain drops or disporting in the puddles (Fig. 71). In the foreground of one of the scenes is a brick-built pond (Fig. 71). In another scene (Fig. 72) two birds are seen flying against a red and blue sky with curly ribbon-like Chinese clouds; in the deep red foreground appear a dancing peacock and peahens and a brick-tiled lotus pond surrounded by flowering plants into which water is seen flowing through a channel (Fig. 72).

Gujarat has been famous for its maritime commerce. The illustrator of the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript who probably lived at the small sea-port of Gandhār near Broach was well acquainted with the trade by seagoing vessels. It is in the representation of sailing vessels that the illustrator has for the first time in Western Indian or Gujarati painting attempted a seascape. The sailing vessel is once seen with the captain and sailors and birds which may be meant to represent large sea-birds hovering over it (Fig. 73). The boat has an awning and a single mast with sail. The captain is seen standing on a covered poop giving navigational directions. Another seascape is even more interesting. The gulls are hovering in the picturesque ultramarine sky against which floral sprays are introduced perhaps as a decorative device (Colour Pl. 6f and Fig. 74). The masted vessel is equipped with standards on which the sea gulls are perched. Strangely enough the bird at the top of the sail occupies almost the whole length of the ship. The sea itself is shown full of fishes. The vessel is apparently riding at anchor as it is unmanned.

6. The treatment of animals and birds shows a curious mixture of realistic and stylized tendencies. The lively naturalistic prancing horses (Fig. 60) remind us of similar horses in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra*. The fighting antelopes are also realistically treated (Figs. 49-50) but the lions are heraldic (Fig. 82). Camels (Figs. 95 and 96) are very much in the early Tīmūrid manner[47] and so also the gawky long elephant (Fig. 61).[48] Monkeys are depicted like lemurs, while rabbits are somewhat crudely drawn (Fig. 60).

The illustrator is also partial to mythical and highly stylized or composite animals and birds in the border panels (Figs. 67, 73, 83 and 84). This is the continuance of a much older tradition in Western Asiatic and Indian art of griffins and several birds or animals with a

[47] I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits tīmūrides*, Paris, 1954, Pls. XXVI and LXXX. In this connection one may also note the treatment of camels in earlier manuscripts probably from Iraq Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, pp. 116-117.

[48] *Ibid*, Pl XXXI The elephant in Fig. 61 is, however, somewhat more realistic.

single head. Decoratively treated birds appear in many of the decorative borders. Parrots, cranes, gulls, geese, peacocks and other birds appear in groups or in combination with floral arabesque-like meandering plants, pecking at leaves or at each other or disporting themselves in other ways. Cranes (Colour Pl. 6d and Fig. 78) are shown in similar arabesque decoration as also parrots (Fig. 75). Peacocks and peahens are also a favourite motif in the illustrations (Figs. 79 and 80). They are shown against an arabesque background with up-turned necks facing one another, their heads forming the loops of the diaper within which pitchers appear (Figs. 93 and 94). They also appear in floral meanders perched on the stems of flowering plants pecking at flowers with their necks turned backward (Figs. 79 and 93). At one place a peacock is shown in the company of its young ones (Fig. 84).

7. There are some scenes in the border decoration which emphasize the fanciful imagination of the illustrator. In two border panels elephant and horse-riders, perhaps representing Indra and Gandharva, are shown in the sky (Colour Pl. 6a and Figs. 66, 67). The ground is red and on it appears an irregular patch of ultramarine delimited by pink ribbon-like Chinese clouds with rosettes. The monotony of the plain blue of the sky is relieved by arabesques of foliage.

8. Dancing also forms an important element in the border decoration. Single female dancers in various dancing attitudes, which are labelled, flank the folio borders (Colour Pl. 5 and Figs. 56, 68, 69, 81). But there are some dancing scenes in which more than one dancer participates. Two duets are seen in Fig. 91 and another duet in Fig. 89. In the centre of Fig. 89 amidst interlocking cartouches are two lively girls wearing tight fitting shorts and *cholīs* and performing a dance (Colour Pl. 6b and Fig. 89). Their legs are interlocked. Both the dancers are supporting a bowl which contains what may be a coconut with their upraised hands. The smiling faces of the girls and their whirling acrobatic movements make this panel unique in Western Indian or Gujarati painting. In another scene the same arrangement of interlocking cartouches with a central panel of dancers appears (Fig. 90). The almost nude squatting dancers in an erotic pose are interlocked in close embrace. A significant point is their prominent well formed breasts which is a characteristic feature of female figures in the *Laur-Chandā* type group of paintings (Fig. 198-Rāga Vasanta). Another border panel (Fig. 91) depicts a chain of lozenges in which flowers and aquatic birds and female dancers and musicians appear. The postures of the dancers are, however, more traditional and based on the prototypes in the stone sculptures of Gujarat. The winged dancing figures (Fig. 92) with round faces in three quarter profile and ruddy complexions, though clearly of Persian origin, are exotically costumed (Colour Pl. 6c and Fig. 92). The constant use of arabesques in the border panels is a clear indication of the very considerable influence of Persian painting on the illustrator. This feature also dominates the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* which is considerably later.

9. Bathing scenes also appear in the border panels. In one scene the central panel depicts a decorative bath-room with an important person having a bath, flanked by two attendants (Fig. 70). In another panel at the border we see a brick-built stepped tank shaded by trees in which both men and women are seen bathing (Colour Pl. 7c and Fig. 63).

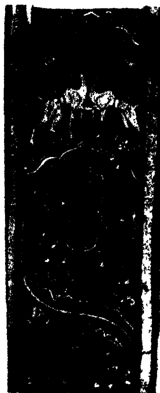
Thus in the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript one may see a broadening of the conventional style and an effort to assimilate new motifs whenever permissible without disturbing the hieratic content of the texts illustrated. The principal innovation is the blending of Persian



a.



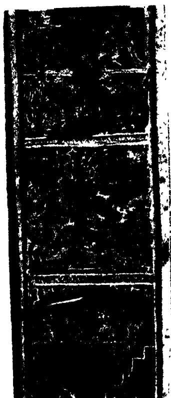
b.



c.



d.



e.



f.

Pl. 7 (a-f). Border decorations of folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

art concepts into the hieratic art of the Jains. It was probably due to this increased Persian influence that Prof. Norman Brown was led to assign the manuscript to the second or third quarter of the sixteenth century, post-dating it by almost a century.[49]

But the Persian influence is not only in the border decoration. It is also seen even in the full page illustrations with Persianised figures which were not available to Prof. Norman Brown when he examined the manuscript. In the first illustration (Fig. 48) divided into two compartments with rich ultramarine ground, the upper panel depicts the abduction of Sarasvatī by Gardabhilla's warriors. The incident is treated in the conventional manner and needs no comment. The lower panel, however, depicts the foreign cavalry in the employment of Gardabhilla; one of the horses is dappled and the Persian convention of small dots over the body of the horse is employed as in earlier *Kalpasūtras*. But it is of interest to note that the foreign troops are now of a somewhat different facial type from those seen in other earlier *Kālakāchārya* manuscripts. The riders have slightly elongated oval faces with closely placed eyes in which the pupils are more to the centre and not contracted to the corners. The pointed beards are thicker and the moustaches often extend beyond the cheeks. The marked Mongolian features no longer persist. In another type represented by a foot soldier in the same panel the face is more rounded. In contrast to the massive stature of the foreign soldiers the Indian foot soldiers are made to appear puny. The undergrowth over which the cavalry rides is indicated by a few leafy arabesques and a solitary black antelope.

There is also a change noticeable in costumes. The turbans have either tight diagonal folds to give a latticed effect or transverse and lateral folds with a short free hanging end. Frequently the turban is tightened by a vertical band in the centre (Fig. 48). This vertical band suggests that this form of turban was ready for wear and did not require to be tied daily. This is borne out by the following incident narrated in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*: [50]

"Sayad Jalāl Bukhāri relates that there was a bath-servant, a boy who was very clever and quick. Whenever the Sultān asked him a question, he used to give an apt answer, at which the Sultān used to be pleased and to smile. One day the Sultān was occupied in his ablutions, and this pert boy was pouring water. It was the custom of the Sultān that when performing his ablutions, one of the servants used to lift up the turban from the Sultān's head, and the Sultān used to wet the crown of his head, and the servant used to replace the turban. After the ablutions were performed, he used to place his hand on his turban, and having unrolled and untwisted the end to the length of two or three turns, used to wind it up again. One day while thus engaged one of the attendants said, "Your Majesty, how beautiful is the texture of the cloth of this turban?" The Sultān said, "It is not so very excellent, my servants wear even better than this, but they do not bind it up in my style, but wind it with a twist." The boy then said, "It does not look well, unless it is done with a twist. "The Sultān said, "Does then my way of binding the turban appear bad?" The boy said, "The style of the Sultān's turban is like that of *Mullāhs* and *Bohrāhs*." Asadul-mulk gave the boy a slap on his cheek, and reproved him. The Sultān said, "Why do you strike him? He is but a child, he says what he hears from his parents. I am pleased that my turban should be compared with the turbans of *Mullāhs*."

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49 W. Norman Brown, "A Jain Manuscript from Gujarat Illustrated in Early Western Indian and Persian Styles", *Ars Islamica*, Vol. IV, p. 156.

50 *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, pp. 124-125. It relates to Sultān Muzaffar.

In fact, the broad rounded turban of the Sāhī King in Fig. 51 certainly does resemble that of the Mullājī Sāhibs[51] of the Dawoodi Bohrā community. Sultān Muzaffar had ascended the throne in *c.* A.D. 1518 and no doubt adopted this type of turban from Mahmūd Begarha who was the Sultān of Gujarat when the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript was painted. It seems very likely that the turbans worn by the Sāhīs in the Devasāno Pāḍo ***Kālakāchārya*** reflect the contemporary types used by the Sultān, his courtiers, attendants and soldiers.

Sometimes instead of the vertical band one roll of the turban is taken diagonally across the centre to achieve the same tightening effect. In Fig. 51 the Sāhī king and the attendant immediately in front of him wear turbans with the diagonal band while the second attendant wears a turban with the vertical band. The top of a *kulāh* slightly protrudes out of most of the turbans. Some turbans are tall while others are of medium height. The sleeveless jacket worn on top of the undergarment by the Sāhī king (Fig. 51) also seems to represent a contemporary costume at the Sultanate court. The short tunic with a sash or the breeches worn with long sleeved jackets (Fig. 51 upper register) by attendants and soldiers differ widely from the usual caftan of the Sāhīs in ealier ***Kālaka*** manuscripts. As regards the arms carried by the soldiery it is stated in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* as follows:

"It is said that when Sultān Mahmūd determined to take the fortresses of Girnār and Junāgadh he ordered his . . . Kūrbegi (or keeper of the royal armoury) to take with him one thousand seven hundred swords of Egypt and Yemen and Maghrebi and Khurāsāni and Alleymand on whose handles was from four to six *sers* of gold; and three thousand and three hundred Ahmedābād swords with silver hilts, weighing from four to five *sers*, and seventeen hundred daggers (khanjār) and double-edged daggers (jāmdhar), with gold on their handles, weighing from two *sers* and a half to three *sers*, and he ordered his master of the horse (Akhtahbegi) to take with him two thousand Arabian and Turkish horses with gold trappings."[52]

The swords encased in a tasseled sheath or in their unsheathed form (Fig. 48) do not tell us much. No doubt such types were commonly used during the Sultanate period of Gujarat and were of foreign workmanship as well as of indigenous manufacture.

Despite the undoubted influences of Tīmūrid painting on the Devasāno Pāḍo illustrations, we feel that in this manuscript for the first time the illustrator instead of adopting the usual Mongol types for the Sāhīs depicted them somewhat in the manner of the Sultān of Gujarat and his nobles and attendants. Of course, the Gujarat court no doubt to a considerable extent had modelled its court dress on Tīmūrid fashions adapted to local requirements.

The second scene in Fig. 51 represents the Śaka boys playing a game of ball, and the ball falling in a well and Kālaka retrieving it therefrom (Colour Pl. 5 and Fig. 51). In the upper panel the Śaka boys are shown engaged in a vigorous game of ball played with sticks. The lower panel is still more interesting as it shows a curious juxtaposition of Persian and Indian elements. On the left is represented a court scene with the Śaka king and his officers; in the foreground is depicted a Śaka prince with princess and attendants. The princess sits on the extreme farther edge of a round carpet, a convention continued in the

[51] In this connection a type of turban seen in a Tīmūrid period manuscript of the ***Khawar Nāma*** *c.* A.D. 1475 may be noted. See Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 105. The Gujarat Sultāns may have adopted this type of turban from Persia.

[52] *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, p. 54.

sixteenth century *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. On the right appears Kālaka retrieving the ball from the well with an arrow. One notable point in the illustration is the female type, as seen in the seated princess. She is basically Persian but Indianised to a certain extent. The Śaka princess wears a flat turban more like a chaplet with ends trailing down the shoulders like a scarf. Her garment is a long tunic.

In the third scene depicting Gardabhilla releasing the "Ass Magic", there is again a curious mixture of Persian and Indian types (Fig. 52). The composition is quite simple. The Śakas appear in three registers fighting the puny Indian soldiers. The soldiers appear in single file only; but the shooting of arrows and tilted lances indicate that the soldiers are not marching in a procession, but are in the battlefield.

It is clear from the full page illustrations described above that for the Persian elements therein the illustrator depended on some Tīmūrid manuscript illustrations. He has, however, taken full liberty with the figure drawing in an Indian context as the alignment of figures is done in a traditional manner. It may be possible to suggest that the illustrator did not depend solely on Tīmūrid manuscripts of the fifteenth century, but was also aware of some mixed style nurtured by the Sultāns of Gujarat.

If any such style existed we have no evidence of it nor any information of its prevalence by way of literary reference. Even if we assume that some such style existed prior to *c.* A.D. 1475, which according to us is the date of the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript, that style also must have borrowed largely from Tīmūrid painting.

The lavish treatment employed by the illustrator of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* shows that the bankers Śāṇā and Jūṭhā who got the manuscript illustrated must have been wealthy. Whether these patrons had in their possession one or more illustrated Persian manuscripts, it is difficult to say, but there is hardly any doubt that the illustrator of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* must have seen an illustrated Persian manuscript somewhere. In some instances, the basic character of the Persian prototypes was Indianised, in others, it largely retained its original character. Moreover, in the same miniature in which Persian elements predominate, there appear typically Western Indian figures. Landscape is mostly an innovation though certain features of it conform to the earlier Western Indian or Gujarati style.

In most cases the floral and geometrical patterns of the borders are derived from Persian architecture, carpets, textiles, pottery, and paintings, though some may also have been derived from the contemporary architecture of Gujarat. It must, however, be admitted that in the hands of the Indian illustrator these foreign decorative elements assumed an Indian spirit and form. In some of the marginal scenes Persian influences predominate, though here as well, the angular draughtsmanship and the projection of the farther eye show the presence of Gujarati elements. The marching and galloping horsemen engaged in hunting and fighting have quite a striking resemblance to similar scenes on Rayy pottery.

The Persian influence on the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript does not end here. For instance, in a marginal border panel representing a king who is out riding on a camel accompanied by his mistress (Colour Pl. 7d and Fig. 96), one can easily recognize Bahrām Gūr and his mistress Āzāda who are often similarly depicted in Persian pottery and painting (Fig. 207).[53]

Some of these border panels deserve our special attention in connection with the

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[53] See also Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits tîmûrides*, Pl. XXVI.

Persian influence. In a panel depicting a Sāhī soldier carrying slabs of gold (Fig. 55) the flat turban whose folds give the appearance of a scaly pattern may be noted. Such a flat turban shows that the *aṭpaṭī* style *pagrī*, which appears in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1465, was not a localized type but also appears in Gujarat though in quite a different form. The representation of a Sāhī king on the throne has also some interesting points to be noted (Fig. 54). For instance, the figures of the fighting horsemen are Mongolian to all intent and purposes with almost round faces and thin drooping moustaches. The turban with transverse folds worn by the Sāhī king in Fig. 54 and those of his attendants resembles some of the turbans appearing in the *Sikandar Nāma* (Fig. 104) and the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan *Laur-Chandā* illustrations (Fig. 100). In some Persian scenes showing two horsemen engaged in fighting, the background consists of a tracery of flowering plants to which a low hill and two conventionally treated rabbits are added (Fig. 60). The illustrator seems to have been very fond of painting serried ranks of horsemen (Colour Pl. 7a and Fig. 64). This idea was almost surely borrowed from some Persian miniature of the *Shāh Nāma* such as Fig. 208. The effect of the serried ranks is obtained by superimposing the horsemen one above the other (Colour Pl. 7a and Fig. 64). In another scene horsemen are shown crossing one another (Colour Pl. 7b and Fig. 65). The two camel riders and below them a single horseman, are all influenced by Persian painting and appear against a deep red floral background (Fig. 95). The camels have brown bodies and ultramarine heads. The horse is also painted in ultramarine (Colour Pl. 7c and Fig. 95). One of the most interesting features of the horse rider is the high pommelled saddle. It is significant to note that this style of saddle is mentioned in Duarte Barbosa's description of the cavalry of Sultān Muzaffar II[54] which must have been no different from the cavalry of his immediate predecessor the great Mahmūd Begarha.

Barbosa observes "The riders were expert horsemen seated on high-pommelled saddles, each carrying a strong round shield, two swords, a dagger and a Turkish bow with very good arrows. Many of them had coats of mail, and others jackets quilted with cotton, and the foreparts of their horses were likewise caparisoned with steel." The cavaliers were mostly Persianised Turks. The short Turkish bow with a quiver of arrows is seen in Fig. 60, while in Fig. 48 a coat of mail is worn by the rider in the lower right corner while an infantry man has a quilted jacket. The small round shields are also commonly seen with cavalrymen and the infantry (Figs. 45 and 48). Thus it seems fairly certain that the illustrator of the folios and panels of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* was frequently depicting mounted bowmen, other cavalrymen and also infantrymen all drawn from the Sultanate armies of Gujarat.

In another scene (Colour Pl. 7d and Fig. 96) in which a horseman is shooting arrows, the Persian facial type is replaced by an angular Western Indian or Gujarati type with the projection of the farther eye. But the Persian and Turkish horse-riding warriors, who no doubt formed a considerable part of the Sultāns' armies in Gujarat, had become such a favourite motif with the illustrator of the manuscript that even in one and the same scene they are repeated thrice. The other manuscript dated A.D. 1501[55] appears to be influenced by the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* but seems to lack its variety. But it remains to be examined.

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54 *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, p. 119.

55 Moti Chandra and U. P. Shah, "New Documents of Jaina Painting," *Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1968, p. 387, figs. 12-13.

After examining the outstanding manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* in so far as they introduce new influences, one may summarise the result of the new experiments which the Indian painters were making to improve their work within the limits imposed by hieratic tradition. The following points may be noted:

1. An effort to improve the quality of the draughtsmanship and colours. Restrained draughtsmanship defines the body contours with sobriety, avoids undue exaggerations and imparts a more pleasing look to the figure. This trend in the fifteenth century is in effect a continuation of the refinement which began to appear in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. That this stylistic refinement must have to some extent been brought about by increasing familiarity with Persian art seems likely. That contacts existed cannot be doubted because the Sāhī types of the fourteenth century are frankly a borrowing from early Persian painting as also dappled and other horses and cloud and rock forms.

2. It is also significant to note that the early illustrators of the fourteenth century preferred a simple colour scheme which they used with discrimination. The indiscriminate use of gold for body colour and ultramarine for filling available spaces and inscribing the text in gold became a regular feature of the opulent manuscripts of the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth century gold was discriminately used only for accentuating the details of the jewellery, while yellow and sandal were used for complexions. The preference for gold and ultramarine by the fifteenth century is a borrowing from the Tīmūrid painting. Unacquainted with the proper use of these colours they applied them indiscriminately just to show that their patrons could well afford the luxury of such costly colours as an act of dedication to the Jinas.

3. The human types, both male and female, in most of the opulent manuscripts, though maintaining the true Western Indian or Gujarati characteristics such as the projection of the farther eye, linear draughtsmanship and absence of modelling, show a certain refinement which results in attractive and at times even dainty figures so much so that even the projecting farther eye fails to detract from the figure's elegance.

4. In the second half of the fourteenth century for the first time a highly Persianised type of figure appears, not as a matter of course, but owing to the exigencies of the story of Kālaka which required a foreign type to represent the Sāhīs, who are of prime importance to the story. There is no doubt that the Sāhī types are based on some Persian types though the exact prototypes are not easy to locate. It does not follow, however, that by the end of the fourteenth century there must have existed a school or schools of painting illustrating Persian classics in Gujarat under the Sultāns. Of course, in the absence of evidence, it is possible to put forth both view-points, namely, that a school for illustrating Persian classics existed by the end of the fourteenth century in Gujarat and the opposite view, namely, that this is most unlikely. Prior to the formation of the independent Sultanate of Gujarat, the Delhi Sultāns had their provincial governors in charge of this province after the final defeat of the last Hindu king Karṇa whose daughter is the subject of Amīr Khusrav's famous romance *'Ashīqa*. Throughout the fourteenth century these governors ruled on behalf of the Delhi Sultāns. That there must have been cultural contacts with Persia during the period is beyond doubt and it seems that some illustrated Persian manuscripts such as the *Shāh Nāma* must have come to Gujarat and have been seen by the illustrators of the *Kālaka* story who adopted the Mongol types for depicting the Sāhīs. Some of the governors were even favourably

inclined towards the non-Muslims and Firishta records of the governor Farhat-ul-Mulk (late fourteenth century) that to gain popularity for the furtherance of his objective of an independent Gujarat he encouraged the Hindu religion and promoted rather than suppressed the worship of idols. The formation of the independent Sultanate of Gujarat was in the last decade of the fourteenth century. There is nothing tangible to suggest that any school of painting other than the art of Jain manuscript illustration existed in Gujarat in the fourteenth century. The adoption of Persian models for the Sāhīs in the second half of the fourteenth century could have scarcely been accomplished save by borrowing from some Persian manuscripts seen by an illustrator who evolved the Sāhī type therefrom. Thereafter it became crystallized.

5. The Western Indian or Gujarati school was not rich in landscape and animal drawing. Certain elements of landscape such as trees, hills, clouds and water are treated conventionally. However, in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1439 and also the Mandu *Kālakāchārya Kathā* datable to the same period, trees have shed some of their formalism, and the treatment of clouds becomes more dramatic. This feeling for landscape from small beginnings finally effloresces into the *Vasanta Vilāsa*[56] scroll dated A.D. 1451 and the near contemporary *Bālagopāla Stuti* in which nature plays an appropriate role in amourous and other episodes. In the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript not only the isolated elements of landscape, such as trees, clouds and water appear, but landscape in a more authentic connotation is attempted in many instances. There is no direct Persian influence in these landscape scenes which seems to be the outcome of the creative activity of an individual artist never to be repeated in the illustrations of the Western Indian or Gujarati school.

The treatment of birds and animals continued to be conventional, though in the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript, there is a tendency to treat birds and animals both realistically and conventionally. This indicates a new approach.

6. It may be pointed out that the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* has a unique place amongst the manuscripts of the Western Indian or Gujarati school. Inspite of all stylistic limitations imposed by a hieratic art, the illustrator enhanced the scope of the composition by introducing new episodes which required a certain degree of skill and by adding delightful border decoration borrowed from carpets, textiles, and architectural designs, as well as animals and birds and by drawing copiously on some illustrated manuscripts of the Tīmūrid period. In the course of this process of assimilation and Indianising Persian motifs a pleasing synthesis was evolved. In the absence of other manuscripts, save one, following the conventions of the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript, it is difficult to say how far it affected the course of the development of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition. This other example as already stated is a manuscript dated A.D. 1501.

It may be noted that the folios from the Sarabhai Nawab collection exhibited in the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art in 1948[57] do not belong to another manuscript but are pages from the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra and Kālakāchārya Kathā*. When Khandalavala first examined this manuscript over fifteen years ago he found as many as 43 folios missing. Several folios of this manuscript have been coming in the market in recent years and they are no doubt from this missing group which was reported missing or misappropriated many

[56] W. Norman Brown, *The Vasanta Vilāsa*, Connecticut, 1962, fig. 34.

[57] *Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. by Leigh Ashton, London, 1948, p. 107, S. No. 386.

years before. Even if there are only two examples of this style the path shown by the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript must have been somewhat helpful in the future growth of painting in the sixteenth century.

7. Yet, it was not the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript alone that shows an advancement in technique. The Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 and the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 show the development of a new facial type with well defined features, where the farther eye in some figures tends to be a superfluous appendage with no organic hold on the features. In the female figure, breasts are now indicated by two intersecting circles or ovals (Fig. 16). In the male costume, the *aṭpaṭī* turban appears for the first time in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 (Figs. 38 and 40). The women often wear the *oḍhanī* across the chest completely covering the breasts, a common feature of manuscripts of the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, in the facial type, costumes, landscape and architectural setting, the Western Indian or Gujarati style shows a definite progress to be seen in the Devasāno Pāḍo, Mandu and Jaunpur manuscripts during the period of *c.* A.D. 1435 to 1475.

8. These new developments were not confined to the Śvetāmbara Jain manuscripts alone. In the *Vasanta Vilāsa* which has a secular theme a new point of view in painting consisting of a loving appreciation of nature and the unloosening of the hieratic bonds under the stimuli of love and the advent of spring is emphasized. Another illustrated manuscript to which attention may be drawn is an illustrated copy of the Digambara *Mahāpurāṇa* in the collection of Śrī Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi.[58] The book which deals with the life and doings of Ṛishabhanātha and his son Bharata, the universal conquerors, is intermingled with other stories with a religious bias. In many aspects these *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrations show a contact with the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* though the distance between Delhi, where probably the *Mahāpurāṇa* was illustrated and Gandhār Bandar where the Devasāno Pādo *Kalpasūtra* was illustrated is considerable. The *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrations are fairly large, often occupying the whole page, the composition is more complicated, movement is emphasized and the various elements of landscape such as trees, water, hills and clouds show a new understanding of form which the *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrations share with the illustrations of the Jaunpur and Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*.

It is, however, significant to note that inspite of an advanced technique followed by the *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrator, there is hardly any feature which reveals foreign influence.[59]

A Durgā Paṭa dated A.D. 1487, painted in Gujarat and now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, also reveals a new trend in a folkish style and some scenes of violent action may be regarded as precursors of the battle scenes of the *Bhāgavata* series which is in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style almost a century later.

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[58] Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated MS. of Mahāpurāṇa in the Collection of the Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi," *Lalit Kalā,* No. 5, April 1959, pp. 68-81.

[59] A large number of Digambara manuscripts similar to the Śvetāmbara types have recently been brought to light by Mrs. Saryu Doshi of Bombay. They do not however afford any help in the problems with which we are dealing.

CHAPTER III

## ILLUSTRATED PERSIAN AND *LAUR-CHANDĀ* MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The requirement of the story of Kālaka necessitated the introduction of a foreign type in Jain manuscript painting. Accordingly, the Western Indian or Gujarati illustrators evolved this foreign type based on Arab and Persian paintings which they had seen. It is not necessary to assume that only the royal libraries of the Sultāns of Delhi, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Mandu etc. could have possessed such illustrated manuscripts due to their cultural contacts with Persia, Baghdad and Central Asia. In fact, these contacts existed not only at the courts of the Sultāns but also at the establishments of ministers, foreign nobles, scholars and litterateurs, many of whom were well-known bibliophiles. Thus there were many opportunities for Jain manuscript illustrators to see Persian and other manuscripts. It may be remembered that the wealthy Jain patrons of such illustrations did not live in isolation from the Muslim gentry. These Jain bankers and merchants had trade and other contacts with the ruling Muslim community. It is well known that the fame of the Gujarat Sultāns as patrons of culture had attracted many learned men from Yemen, Hijaz, Egypt and Persia to their courts in the fifteenth century. There were also many *madrasas* in the city of Ahmedabad during the rule of the Sultāns. In the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* it is stated that during the reign of Mahmūd Begarha (A.D. 1458-1511) the people of Gujarat developed a competent understanding in matters of elegance and culture. The author says:

"In short most of the elegant arts and crafts that are now common in Gujarāt were copied from men of skill and genius from other countries, and Gujarāt like an accomplished person became a collection of merits gathered from different sources. It was in the time of this great Sultān that the people of Gujarāt learned arts and wit, else before his time they were very simple, homely folk indeed."[1] Here we have a clear indication of foreign influences at work on the art of Gujarat as seen for instance in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*.

Under Ahmad Shāh (A.D. 1411-1442) there had been persecution of non-Muslims and great destruction of their shrines but during the reign of Mahmūd Begarha (A.D. 1458-1511) the situation altered. But despite an adverse political climate it seems the art of the illustrated Jain manuscripts, which would be unlikely to attract the notice of intolerant rulers, had continued its normal production even in the reign of Ahmad Shāh. As observed already there is no evidence that these illustrators had any local school of Persianised painting to influence them. If there was any such local Persianised school it should, normally

[1] *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, tr. by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, Dharampur, n.d., p. 69.

speaking, have made its influence felt in the Jain *Kālaka* manuscripts prepared between A.D. 1400 and 1450. But we find only the influence of Arab and Tīmūrid painting and that too restricted to the figures of the Sāhīs and a few other conventions. After about A.D. 1450, however, we have material, howsoever limited, to suggest the growth of a bourgeois style of illustrating Persian classics in some of the Sultanate provinces. But it is not a court style. It is a mixture of Persian influence and the Western Indian or Gujarati style. Though it is of little artistic value it nevertheless possesses a quaint charm, and has high historical importance. With many books being copied for bibliophiles and others there was bound to be an emphasis on good calligraphy and we learn from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* that Muzaffar II (A.D. 1511-1526) was not only skilled in the art of calligraphy but was himself a fine calligrapher. If however a court style existed in Sultanate Gujarat there is no evidence of it. In the bourgeois style attention may be drawn to some illustrations from the *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrav Dihlavī of which about twenty four folios have been traced (Colour Pl. 8). That they belong to this bourgeois category and were painted in one of the Sultanate provinces is now accepted though formerly they were thought to be provincial Persian. We are inclined to ascribe them to the late fifteenth century and regard the provenance as northern India, perhaps Delhi, where Amīr Khushrav reigned supreme in the world of letters, rather than Gujarat, Mandu or Jaunpur. Ettinghausen[2] has dated them to the mid-fifteenth century or second half of the fifteenth century. He is of the opinion that it is still impossible to decide if this manuscript was made in Jaunpur or Delhi or as he puts it less likely, in Malwa or the Deccan; while Basil Gray and Douglas Barrett suggest the provenance as Gujarat.[3] In our opinion an architectural feature such as the squat dome[4] has been evolved from the Tughluq architecture of Delhi, but this evidence alone is not sufficient to support a Delhi provenance, as squat domes and arched niches also appear in fifteenth century architecture in other parts of India.

The more pronounced Indian elements in the *Khamseh* illustrations are the use of strong red, yellow and green patches, the handleless ewers, high-backed thrones and above all the *oḍhnī* (wimple) standing out behind the head. The human type though Perso-Mongolian is connected with some of the Persian types depicted in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*, both male and female, with almost square jaws and big broad faces. The presence of the large spray like plant[5] is not an Indian feature as such, as suggested by Ettinghausen. Its appearance in Indian painting, as in the Jaunpur manuscript of A.D. 1465 (Fig. 44), the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* (Figs. 57 and 58) and the *Sikandar Nāma* (Fig. 113) is quite probably an adaptation from Arab painting of the thirteenth century, such as the *Fables of Bidpai* or from the paintings of the Mongol period in the fourteenth century. The farther protruding eye is absent but as in the Jain manuscripts the gestures are stiff and ungainly. The convention of the protruding eye would be foreign to Muslim taste.

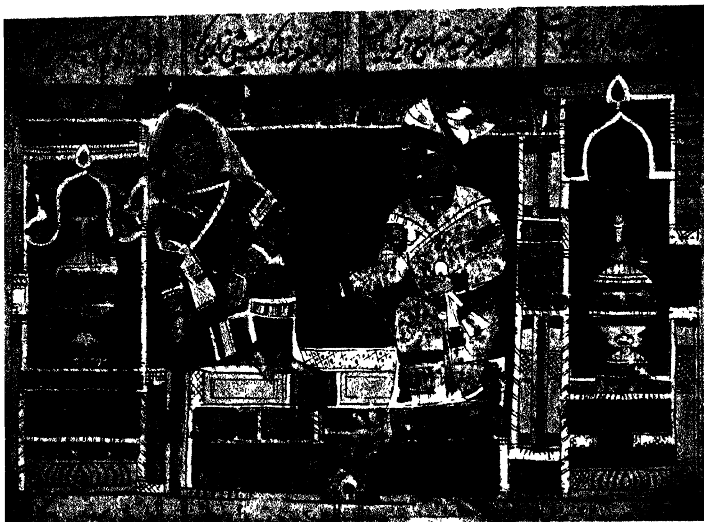
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[2] Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, New Delhi, 1961, Pl. I.
Edwin Binney, 3rd, *Persian and Indian Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*, Portland, 1962, p. 30, fig. 52.

[3] Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India*, Cleveland, 1963, p. 59.

[4] Righard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, Pl. 1. (Upper).

[5] *Ibid.*



Pl. 8. The traitorous Vezier repulsed by the queen. Episode in the *Hasht Bihisht* from a MS. of Amīr Khusrav Dihlavī's *Khamseh*. Late 15th century A.D. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

A type like the Sāhīs[6] is also seen but then that again is of Persian origin. These miniatures seem to have been painted by an Indian artist who was commissioned to follow certain Persian models both as regards faces and costumes while depicting the *dramatis personae* of the stories. It was apparently commissioned for some local bibliophile who desired an illustrated copy of this work of Amīr Khusrav. If we are right in thinking that the provenance is Delhi it indicates that book illustration to some extent, however limited, was being practised at Delhi during the last quarter of the fifteenth century to which period we think it belongs. But even though the above conclusion may be justified, one could hardly go further on the available evidence and predicate from this bourgeois manuscript of little artistic value a great Sultanate school of manuscript illustration at the Sultanate court of Delhi or wherever this *Khamseh* was painted. The term Sultanate painting has been

[6] Richard Ettinghausen, *Painting of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, Pl. I (Upper).

greatly misused. It is acceptable only in a narrow connotation for otherwise even the Jain manuscripts, most of which were done during the rule of the Sultāns in Gujarat, could strictly speaking be included in the term Sultanate painting. If they are to be excluded then the question arises why manuscripts such as the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540, a hieratic work of the Digambara Jains, should also not be excluded from the term Sultanate painting. Are we to include them in that term on the basis of costume or on the basis of style? Moreover, can one apply the term Sultanate to works like the *Chaurapañchāśikā* which are far removed in spirit from illustrations such as those of the *Khamseh* or the *Ni'mat Nāma* or the fine *Laur-Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum? While it is very difficult to define the term Sultanate painting it may help clearer thinking, than has hitherto prevailed, if the term is restricted to the illustrated Persian classics in the bourgeois style and the rather superior manuscripts such as the *Laur-Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum and Rylands Library, Manchester, and the *Ni'mat Nāma*.

To the same group as the *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrav belong four illustrated leaves from a *Shāh Nāma* in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Figs. 127 and 128). The pictures are painted against a dull red and blue background. The sky is indicated by a segment of blue, pink and white as in the *Khamseh* illustrations.[7] There are two types of male faces. One is round with arched eye-brows, almond-shaped eyes and with or without moustaches, while the second is a bearded ovaloid facial type, bearing a resemblance to the Sāhī type represented in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* (Fig. 51). But in spite of the strong Persian affinities certain typically Indian conventions may be noticed. In some figures a slight protrusion of the farther eye appears, while in most cases the ends of the eyes are elongated and the pupils contracted in a corner, features which they share with some of the figures in the *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrav. The turban wound round the *kulāh* and held together with a sash is common to the *Khamseh* (Colour Pl. 8) and the *Shāh Nāma* paintings (Fig. 128). We assign this *Shāh Nāma* to the same date as the *Khamseh*, namely, the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the same provenance which may well be the Delhi area.

To the group of the *Khamseh* and the *Shāh Nāma* paintings can also be added an illustrated manuscript of the *Sikandar Nāma*[8] of Nizāmī, though it is more markedly a mixture of the Persian and indigenous tradition. It was brought to the Museum a few years back; unfortunately it could not be acquired though we were able to photograph all the miniatures (Figs. 101-116). The *Sikandar Nāma* forms a part of the *Khamseh* of Nizāmī and describes the adventures of Alexander the Great over land and sea. The miniatures are of a somewhat crude bourgeois type in which Persian influences are mixed with the Western Indian or Gujarati style and Persianised Indian types appear. The manuscript might well have been painted to satisfy the requirements of a bibliophile who could not afford to procure a fine Persian manuscript nor commission a very superior painter. The *Sikandar Nāma* seems to have been popular in India right from the times of Tughluqs because the historian Ziau-d-dīn Barnī in his *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* observes of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq: "He knew by heart a good deal of Persian poetry, and understood it well. In his epistles he showed himself skilled in metaphor, and frequently quoted Persian verse. He was well acquainted

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[7] Richard Ettinghausen, *Painting of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, Pl. I, (Upper).

[8] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "Three New Documents of Indian Painting," *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 7, 1959-62, pp. 31-34.

with the *Sikandar nāma,* and also with the *Būm-i salīm Nāmah* and the *Tārīkh-i Mahmūdī*".[9] The Persianised type seems to have been derived from the Sāhīs of the *Kālakāchārya* who in their turn were derived from Arab painting or Mongol period Persian painting. But the costumes worn by these types in the present manuscript though derived from Persia in their ultimate origin might have been in fashion at a Sultanate court in the fifteenth century where this *Sikandar Nāma* was painted. Thus the costumes seen in the *Sikandar Nāma* may not have been merely copied from fourteenth and fifteenth century Persian miniatures. We have already referred to the same probability with regard to the costumes of the Sāhīs in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra.* But there is hardly any doubt that the Indianised Persian types which appear in the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* influenced to a great extent the types common in the *Sikandar Nāma.* Allowance, however, must always be made for modifications and variations of a minor character.

The following outstanding features of the *Sikandar Nāma* miniatures may be noted:

1. The figures are of two types. In the Indianised Persian type the face is generally oval, with continuous recurved eyebrows in the shape of a bow, fish-shaped eyes almost joining together, black pupils usually receding to the corners and pointed beard and moustache. The beard extends to the turban or other headgear. Generally the limbs are crudely drawn. This type appears in all the miniatures.

The Indian male type (Figs. 101, 102, 103 and 108) recalls the Western Indian or Gujarati type of the fifteenth century with oval face, recurved eyebrows, sharp pointed nose, big eyes with extended corners, the projection of the farther eye, rather long pointed beard as often seen in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra,* curved or straight moustaches, exaggerated chest, narrow waist and expressive movement of the hands and feet. In this style the face is always shown in profile. It may be noted here that this type recalls the physical type represented in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan *Laur-Chandā* miniatures (Colour Pl. 10 and Figs. 99 and 100).

The female figures also may be similarly divided into two types—the Indianised Persian type and the Indian type. The former type has a round face, pointed nose, a thin line indicating the lips, large oval closely joined eyes with the pupils receding in the corners, a continuous eyebrow line in the shape of a bow, the dent of the chin indicated by a vertical line, long neck as if screwed on to the body and long wiry hair (Figs. 114-116). The Indian female type has been represented only once (Fig. 110). It has a round face, eyes joined with the pupils in the centre, a mole (*tila*) on the left cheek, double chin, thin coney neck, small circular breasts, with pointed nipples, one intersecting the other, pinpoint waist and triple braided chignon. It is also significant to note that the torso is colour modelled, the face is not in profile and there is no projecting farther eye. The figure reminds us of some of the dancing girls in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* (Fig. 69). The figures are usually flat, but in some cases recourse is taken to colour modelling.

2. The background is usually red, its monotony being at times relieved by very simple architectural details or elementary landscape. Water is represented by the basket pattern and at times associated with fish swimming therein (Figs. 101-102).

A mountain is represented by a series of broad leaf-shaped rocks with voluted tips (Fig. 113) a mannerism borrowed from Persian painting even by the Jain manuscript illustrators.

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[9] Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India, as told by its own Historians,* Vol. III, Bombay, n.d., p. 236.

The treatment of sprays is ornamental with leaves and rosettes (Fig. 113). Plants have serrated leaves branching out from the central stem. (Fig. 108).

The colours are simple, consisting of black, white, red, blue, green, pink and brown. Gold does not appear.

The representation of the horse (Figs. 108 and 112) follows the tradition of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* types (Figs. 48, 55 and 64). They have arched necks, broad quarters, short tails, lozenge-shaped eyes, thin angular legs and are short in the back. Dappled horses are depicted by the invariable Western Indian or Gujarati formula of small spots covering the entire body. In Fig. 113, however, a horse of a different type is shown to suit the content of the incident depicted. The antelope is conventionally represented in a primitive stylized manner (Fig. 109).

3. The typical male costume might be described as an inverted heart-shaped turban, long *aba* or tunic reaching almost to the feet, sometimes with rounded neck and sometimes with a triangular braided opening at the neck, waist girdle, shirt (*kamīz*), tight pyjamas (*salwārs*) and shoes or boots. The tunics are tight and full-sleeved or half-sleeved, the latter type exposing the sleeves of the *kamīz*. The *aba* is drawn with pointed angular ends, but is not to be confused with the *chākdār jāma* (four or six pointed) which is quite distinct. The folds of the heart-shaped turbans are indicated usually by vertical lines though horizontal and vertical lines in combination are also seen at times. Where turbans are tied with a *pechī*, as for instance in Figs. 104 and 106, one end is allowed to hang freely behind the back, a feature common in early Persian miniatures. This heart-shaped type of turban appears in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's *Laur-Chandā* manuscript (Fig. 100). In the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* (Figs. 120, 121, 122 and 125) the turban is rounded and not heart-shaped.

The dress of the Hindus consists of a turban, a narrow *chādar* or *dupaṭṭā* worn across the chest and *dhotī* or shorts. The Hindus sometimes wear a flat turban (Fig. 103) and at times appear without head-gear (Figs. 101 and 102). This flat turban is also seen in the *Laur-Chandā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Colour Pl. 10 and Fig. 99).

The women also wear two types of costumes—the Indian and Persian. The Indian Princess (Fig. 110) is shown wearing a tiara, a *chādar* or *oḍhanī* round the neck, a full long sleeved *cholī*, and a chequered *sārī* over which is tied an overgarment. A notable feature of the ornaments worn is the use of pompons on the wrists. The Persian female types are shown wearing a long tunic with tight-fitting long sleeves or half sleeves and sometimes a white veil covering the head and falling over the back (Fig. 116). In another type, the sleeves of the tunic are loose, a shirt is worn underneath while a girdle is worn round the waist (Fig. 114).

4. Certain other features which should be noted in particular are the painted boats (Figs. 101 and 102), a figure sitting at the farther end of a square stool (Fig. 102) and the framing in of some of the scenes with cusped or rounded arches, a compositional device, borrowed from Persian painting, which also appears in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* (Fig. 56). It is not, however, seen in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 nor in the Jaunpur manuscript of A.D. 1465.

5. Owing to the paucity of the paintings of the *Sikandar Nāma* type it is difficult to draw parallels, but one thing is certain that the *Sikandar Nāma* miniatures are outside the *kulāhdār* group as no trellised turban with *kulāh* appears therein. The Western Indian or

Gujarati tradition in the form of angularity of drawing and the projection of the farther eye in the case of non-Muslim male figures is still present. A striking similarity is to be observed with certain physical characteristics which appear in the illustrations of the *Mahāpurāṇa* in the Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi,[10] and the *Laur-Chandā* in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras,[11] namely, the pinpoint waist and the markedly small circular breasts of female figures (Figs. 98–100).

With regard to the date and provenance of the *Sikandar Nāma*, in the absence of the colophon or other dated material, it is not easy to reach any definite conclusion. We may not be far from the truth in suggesting that the *Sikandar Nāma* was painted in one of the northern Sultanates, probably Jaunpur, in the late fifteenth century for a bourgeois client. If our surmise is correct then the *Laur-Chandā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan[12] should also be earlier than A.D. 1540, the date suggested for it by Rai Krishnadas, and which manuscript we are also inclined to assign to the Jaunpur area. However, we do not claim finality about the chronology or provenance in the absence of sufficient evidence.

But it does seem from all the characteristics which we have pointed out that the *Mahāpurāṇa* of the Digambara Nayā Mandir, the *Laur-Chandā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan and the *Sikandar Nāma*, all come from the same area though not necessarily the same centre and are not remote in time from one another. May be a decade or two at most separates all these three manuscripts.

The *Sikandar Nāma*, like the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* is a document more of historical than aesthetic importance. The colours are mostly basic and the backgrounds are invariably brick red. There is no attempt at perspective and the action takes place on the same plane. The composition is extremely simple with a few figures which, however, tell their story recognizably well. In one scene, representing women clad in black tunics, mourning the death of Alexander (Fig. 116), the figures loose their stiffness and express their grief in no uncertain terms. It is evident that these bourgeois type paintings belong to a transitional period when the indigenous painters were fusing certain Persian motifs, which they had seen, into the indigenous tradition and endeavouring to narrate a story pictorially not according to the conventions of Jain hieratic art but with simple if somewhat naive naturalness.

The *Sikandar Nāma* illustrations seem to have been dispersed, as four folios are to be found in the N. C. Mehta Collection, one of which has been reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan* and can be identified as "Sikandar in a Garden".[13]

This new tendency to illustrate the Persian classics, romances and story books in the late fifteenth century is further evidenced by the extensively illustrated copy of the *Hamza Nāma*, dealing with the romantic adventures of Hamza, uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, now in the collection of Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany,[14] discovered by Dr. Ettinghausen (Colour Pl. 9 and Figs. 117-126). A cursory examination of the miniatures reveals that the *Hamza Nāma* was written and illustrated for some bourgeois

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10 Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated MS. of *Mahāpurāṇa* in the Collection of Sri Digambara Naya Mandir, Delhi", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 5, April 1959, pp. 68-81, Pl. D, figs. 1-8.

11 Rai Krishnadasa, "An Illustrated Avadhī MS. of *Laur-Chandā* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras," *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, April 1955–March 1956, pp. 66-71, Pl. E, Pl. XVII and figs. 1-4.

12 *Ibid.*, p, 67, Pl. E.

13 *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. by Sir Leigh Ashton, London, Pl. 80, fig. 871.

14 Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "Three New Documents of Indian Painting".

patron who could not import a copy from Persia or who could not afford an imported Persian illustrated manuscript of the story. It also seems he was not in a position to obtain the services of superior Indian artists for an accomplished production. That there must have been Indian artists superior to the painters of the *Sikandar Nāma* and *Hamza Nāma* during the last quarter of the fifteenth century is obvious from the existence of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439, the Jaunpur manuscript of A.D. 1465 and the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript of *c.* A.D. 1475. Of course, they may not have been easily available to all and sundry, for in all probability such superior artists were very few in number. The majority of illustrators were really craftsmen who mass produced the Jain hieratic illustrated manuscripts. The style of the *Hamza Nāma*, which is crude, is closely related to the style of the *Sikandar Nāma* miniatures. A stylistic analysis of the miniatures reveals the following points:

1. The Indianised Persian male type has resemblances to some of the Sāhī types represented in *Kālakāchārya Kathā* manuscripts painted in the late fourteenth and fifteenth



Pl. 9. Hamza meeting the water carrier. Folio from the *Hamza Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany.

centuries and its affinity with the *Sikandar Nāma* male type is too obvious to need emphasis. It is, however, significant to note that in most of the indigenous types the protrusion of the farther eye is eliminated perhaps indicating that this cliché was losing popularity[15]. In one miniature (Fig. 120), however, both the new and old traditions appear side by side. While the face of the horse rider is in profile without the farther projecting eye, the standing Hindu captive's face shows the projection of the farther eye.

The female figures are also divided into two types—the Indianised Persian type and the indigenous type. The Persian type has a round face, exaggerated chest and thin waist, the body contours being more carefully drawn than in the *Sikandar Nāma* miniatures (Figs. 123 and 124). In the indigenous type, represented by a group of dancers, the farther eye is eliminated (Fig 117), resulting in a facial type which may be compared to that of the *Laur-Chandā* group of paintings datable to the period A.D. 1525-1570, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Colour Pl. 24 and Figs. 156-175).

2. The action takes place against a brick red background; the colours are basic. The composition is simple without any attempt to represent the planes. However, the drawing inspite of its crudity, is characterized by a certain degree of movement which is in direct contrast to the static qualities of the *Sikandar Nāma* miniatures.

The artist has taken recourse to several expedients to relieve the monotony of the monochrome background such as the introduction of architecture which consists of simple arched and domed pavilions which not only relieves the monotony but also indicates the scene of action. The highly ornate furniture consisting of thrones, carpets and beds also serves the same purpose. In one miniature a strip of carpet in the foreground (Fig. 122) reminds us of a similar device (Fig. 164) in the *Laur-Chandā* miniatures of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The landscape is scanty but interesting. Clouds are indicated by blue and white wavy lines (Fig. 119). Hills are represented by a formation of rising, serrated and hooked rock-like forms, and water by the basket-pattern (Fig. 125). In the treatment of trees, however, the *Hamza* miniatures show a much greater variety than seen in any other earlier manuscript. Generally the clusters of leaves and flowers are painted on an indigo ground. The fronds of palm trees are treated in a decorative manner (Fig. 126) and the plantain tree retains a certain degree of naturalism (Fig. 122). Apartments are often provided with decorative fringes (Fig. 123)—a feature which is so common in the Western Indian or Gujarati miniatures.

3. The costume of the male Persianised types consists usually of long half-sleeved *jāma*, often patterned, worn over the shirt or a short *jāma* hardly reaching the knees (Fig. 120). Pyjamas are commonly worn. The head-gear is either a domed cap or a turban somewhat rounded at the top. Neither in the *Sikandar Nāma* nor in the *Hamza Nāma* do we find the turban tightened with a strip in the centre as seen in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*. The Hindus wear a low *pagrī* of the *aṭpaṭī* type (Fig. 120) which also appears in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 (Figs. 38 and 40). Their costume usually consists of short *dhotīs* or shorts (Figs. 118-120).

The women wear Persian costume with the addition of a *chādar* or *oḍhanī*. It consists of a long half-sleeved *paiṭhan* often made of patterned material, pyjamas and shoes. It is, how-

[15] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "New Documents of Indian Painting," *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 7, 1959-62, figs. 27a–28b.

ever, interesting to note that without exception, they wear tasseled bracelets of Indian origin. The *oḍhanī* floats back, the lower end projects stiffly at an angle while the portion which is supposed to cover the hair stands out balloon-like behind the head, presaging exactly the mode of depicting the *oḍhanī* in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings. The costume of Hindu dancing girls and musicians consists of tight-fitting pyjamas, *cholīs* and *dupaṭṭās*. These dancers are far more sinewy and virile than the numerous dancing figures in the pages of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*.

Though the miniatures of the *Hamza Nāma* do not show signs of quick advance above the contemporary modes of expression, they definitely show a sense of mobility which is an improvement on the static poses of earlier times. But the most important point which is to be noted in these illustrations is the emergence of new types of figures from whose faces, even in profile, the farther projecting eye is eliminated. If our dating of the *Hamza Nāma* as late fifteenth century is correct then it could be said that by the closing years of that century, at least, the convention of the farther projecting eye was losing ground. The architectural feature in Fig. 121 is vaguely reminiscent of the Hamām in the Jaunpur fort.

The horses in the *Hamza Nāma* (Colour Pl. 9) are almost identical with those of the *Sikandar Nāma* (Fig. 112). Though the *Hamza Nāma* is very extensively illustrated, the *chākdār jāma* is not to be seen. One does find the short *jāma* only upto the knees (Fig. 120) but it is rounded. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* a short *jāma* extending only to the knees is seen but it has two varieties (Fig. 160) namely, round without points and round with points *(chākdār)*. If the manuscript comes from Jaunpur, as we believe, then there is a possibility that the *chākdār jāma* was in vogue in Jaunpur before the time of Akbar and that the Emperor adopted it at his court. But the reverse may equally be true, namely, that only the round *jāma*, short or long, was in vogue at Jaunpur and the variety with points *(chākdār)* came into fashion after Akbar had introduced it at his court early in his reign. Since the date of the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* is uncertain the problem defies a solution at present.

The closing years of the fifteenth century also witnessed a change of taste in painting. It was no longer confined to the illustration of Jain subjects only. It extended its field to Vaishṇava subjects and also to love poetry. In this century the *Laur-Chandā*, the versified romance of Laur, an Ahīr hero and Chandā, his beloved, in the Avadhī dialect of Hindi composed by Mullā Dāūd in the last quarter of the fourteenth century[16] continued to be popular upto Akbar's time. At least by the closing years of the fifteenth century, if not earlier, the romance was being illustrated. Five illustrated leaves from an early copy of *Laur-Chandā* are in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras (Colour Pl. 10 and Figs. 99-100). The format of the folios is vertical and the Avadhī text on the reverse is written in Persian characters. The following characteristics may be noted:

1. The background is usually red and only basic colours are used (Colour Pl. 10). The surface is divided in two or even three compartments, each compartment containing a part of the story. The upper and lower compartments are separated either by a simple dividing line or by a chain motif (Fig. 100). The miniatures are enclosed on three sides by borders decorated by rosettes, chain motif, floral meanders, lozenges and lotus petals.

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16 Rai Krishnadasa, "An Illustrated Avadhī MS. of *Laur-Chandā*, in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras", *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, April 1955-March 1956, pp. 66-71.



Pl. 10. Biraspat describing the beauty of Laurak to Chandā. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*.
Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. Late 15th century A.D.
Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

Architecture is suggested by a pavilion with a low dome. It is significant to note that in one scene at least the night is suggested by a star spangled blue background and a lamp burning in the room (Fig. 99). This is a new departure from the former convention which did not differentiate between the day and night except that a blue sky with the moon and stars symbolized a night scene.

2. The male and female types are purely indigenous in form. The male figure retains the angularity of features with the projection of the farther eye which, however, seems to be a redundant feature of the anatomy and if eliminated does not affect the figures. As a matter of fact, the convention of the farther projecting eye by the end of the fifteenth century had become meaningless awaiting elimination at any time, and this happened in the beginning of the sixteenth century. At times, modelling is suggested by superficial colour washes.

The female type is more interesting. While retaining its Western Indian or Gujarati form in which the redundancy of the farther projecting eye is clear, the body contour shows a delicacy of treatment which is not common in the general run of Western Indian or Gujarati painting. An attempt is made to represent the very small breasts separately and the pin-point waist is emphasized. Flesh colour is indicated by yellow and pink.

3. Male figures wear both Indian and Persianised costumes. In the Indian type, *dhotīs* plain or patterned and shirts are worn in combination with a tiara or turban. The peaked heart-shaped turban showing the vertical and transverse folds is of the same type as appearing in the *Sikandar Nāma*. In the Persianised type the long *jāma*, and pyjamas are the main articles of wear.

The female costume consists of *sārīs*, *cholīs* and *chādars* or *oḍhanīs* which cover the hair and stand out baloon-like behind the head, a style which persists well into the sixteenth century.

The importance of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's *Laur-Chandā* miniatures lies in the fact that in the present state of our knowledge, they show a departure from the established Gujarati manuscript tradition in several respects and though they can not be designated as notable works of art they are important documents in the history of Indian painting preceding the Mughal period.

We have already indicated that we feel that the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's *Laur-Chandā* comes from the Jaunpur area. The story and the language which is Avadhī suggest eastern Uttar Pradesh. If this be correct, then the *Sikandar Nāma* and the *Hamza Nāma* could also be assigned to the Jaunpur area. Its date may well be the late fifteenth century.

Lastly, we have in this group the *Shāh Nāma* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Figs. 127 and 128) already referred to. There are four folios all told available but even so it is clear we are dealing with a manuscript in more or less the same style as the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma*. Both the illustrations reproduced herein are battle scenes of cavalry charges and the physical types as well as the horses plainly proclaim their stylistic affinities. But the point to note is the growing desire of a bourgeois clientele for illustrated manuscripts of well-known Persian classics like the *Sikandar Nāma*, *Hamza Nāma* and *Shāh Nāma*. The motivating desire is literary interest and not a religious one which was dominant in the case of the illustrated Jain manuscript. The existence of even a very limited number of these Persian classics with the same bourgeois style of illustrations indicates the growth of a new form of

bibliophilism towards the end of the fifteenth century, namely, a patronage of illustrated manuscripts. The love of books was already there in different strata of society—kings, nobles, ministers, scholars and learned holy men. But the demand for illustrated Persian manuscripts made in India for circles outside the court who could not afford to procure finer copies from Persia was a most significant development.

A folio from what appears to be a *Sikandar Nāma* is illustrated in *Gods, Thrones, and Peacocks* by Cary Welch and Milo Beach.[17] It belongs to a different manuscript from that illustrated herein though of approximately the same date. The cloud formation resembles that in the *Khamseh* (Colour Pl. 8).[18] The Persian influence is very marked.

Of the existence of murals, both decorative and figural, in the Sultanate period there is enough evidence, but literary references to manuscript illustration are not forthcoming. The efforts which have been made to co-relate a vague reference or two with the art of manuscript illustration are none too convincing.[19] In our present state of knowledge it would appear that the earliest efforts at illustrating Persian works in India belong for the most part to the late fifteenth century. Their style also suggests a new development and not a well established tradition. Critics who have commented on the absence of a live pictorial tradition in the Indian Muslim Sultanates before A.D. 1500 are no doubt referring to manuscript illustration in contrast with what was achieved under Mughal patronage. With regard to murals, however, the pictorial tradition may have been more vital. One reason why no significant tradition in manuscript illustration seems to have existed during the Sultanate period, till late in the fifteenth century, may be that the Sultāns could without much difficulty obtain Persian illustrated manuscripts and hence were indifferent to developing this art at their courts. But as far as murals were concerned they had no alternative but to employ Indian decorators by far and large. The bourgeois style may have developed in the great *khānaqāhs* and *madrasas* such as those of Delhi and Jaunpur or it may have grown as a result of individual requirements.

The few very fragmentary traces of what might conceivably be early sixteenth century wall painting in the Fort palace of Mansingh Tomar at Gwalior and other equally fragmentary traces at Chitor, Sirhind, Champaner etc. are too scanty and ill preserved to be of any worthwhile assistance to us. We are aware that some writers have tried to deduce conclusions from them or at least from some of them but we feel that such efforts, however sincere, develop largely into exercises in imagination. That wall paintings must have existed in Gujarat, Rajasthan, central and northern India in the sixteenth century needs no emphasis. But without adequate remains, it is unwise to embark on conclusions as to date and provenance of the existing manuscript illustrations, on the basis of the available fragments of wall painting. As regards the wall painting in Gada Shāh's house at Mandu, they clearly belong to the Mughal period, as does the structure itself.

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17 Published by The Asia Society, Inc., U.S.A , 1965, fig. 2.

18 This cloud formation in flat bands is surely derived from some manuscript such as the *Maqāmāt of al-Harīrī* in the National Library, Vienna, dated A.D. 1334. See T.W. Arnold and Adolf Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, 1929, Pls. 46A and 47B.

19 Abdulla Chaghatai, *Painting During the Sultanate Period*, Lahore, 1963. Inadequate book, many errors. Simon Digby, "The Literary Evidence for Painting in the Delhi Sultanate", *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, Vol. I, 1967, p. 47.

## CHAPTER IV

# INDIAN PAINTING IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The early sixteenth century reveals the emergence of a new tradition in painting at least in northern and central India, which discarded some of the established conventions of the Western Indian or Gujarati school that had continued for more than two hundred years. One view-point is that it also forged certain new directions which finally merged themselves in and helped to form the Mughal school of painting. Another view-point, however, is that the formation of the Mughal school has to be considered as a development distinct by itself though naturally since it had to introduce large numbers of Indian artists into the Imperial atelier of Akbar under the tutelage of two Persian master-painters Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd-al-Samad, some reflections of what the Indian artists were accustomed to were bound to appear in the new Persian based style. In truth, the difference between these two view-points is really a matter of how one assesses the extent of the Persian and Indian skills and influences respectively.

Now the following statement is found in Blochmann's translation of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*:[1]

"More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them." It has been contended that this is a reference to the art of Hindu painters who were already great artists before Akbar formed his atelier and drafted them into it. Khandalavala, however, is of the opinion that this view-point is neither borne out by the known examples of pre-Mughal painting which have hitherto come to light nor is it justified on a proper reading of the original text of the *Āīn*. He bases the latter opinion on the reading of the passage by that learned Persian scholar Intiaz Ali Arsi, Librarian of the Raza Library at Rampur which is as follows:

"What may I say about India. The Indians (not necessarily Hindus) who had never drawn the picture of this meaning (quality of art) on the page of their imagination have *now* become so much competent that they have no equals to them in the whole world."

This reading, according to Khandalavala, is in consonance with the objective of the *Āīn*, namely, that it was Akbar's guiding genius and patronage that created the great atelier, where the Indian novitiates, so to say, were trained by the Persian masters to become great artists. He feels that even the competent artists of the Prince of Wales Museum's *Laur-Chandā*

[1] *Āīn-i Akbarī*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1927, p. 114.

manuscript, assuming it is pre-Mughal, cannot be regarded as great artists in the sense in which the Indian artists of Akbar's atelier rose to be great. It should be noted in this connection, that though several of the documents showing the new mode of expression belong to the first half of the sixteenth century, it does not follow that the changes were affected just in the beginning of that century. There is every possibility that the new conventions took some time to grow and, therefore, it may well be that the departure from the established conventions started in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The new developments moved in two directions. On one side was the courtly style patronized by the Sultāns or their great Amīrs of which only four examples exist, namely, the *Ni'mat Nāma* and *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* (Colour Pls. 11-12 and Figs. 129-139) and the *Laur-Chandā* manuscripts of the Prince of Wales Museum (Colour Pl. 24 and Figs. 156-175) and Rylands Library (Colour Pl. 25). This style adopted certain traits of the Turkoman style of Persian painting in the latter half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. On the other side the traditional style, apparently tiring of the established formulae also began to grow out of its conservatism by discarding certain conventions including the farther projecting eye, showing better appreciation of landscape, achieving more freedom in composition and approach and adopting contemporary costumes for the *dramatis personae* instead of the conventional costumes which had stood still in Jain painting for over two hundred years. The earliest glimmer of a new style comes from Mandu, which, as we have already seen, produced some of the finest illustrated *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya* manuscripts in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

Mandu in the fifteenth century along with other provincial capitals, became an important centre of culture. Mosques, palaces, colleges and public gardens added to the grandeur of the capital. Like Jaunpur it also attracted men of learning who spread the renown of the court of the Sultāns far and wide. Naturally the pattern of life at Mandu was based on Persian life and court etiquette. The court language was Persian and the food and costumes also imitated Persian styles. But inspite of the Persian bias of the Sultanate court, indigenous influences frequently moulded its character and laid the foundation of a composite culture.

This is apparent even in the architecture of Mandu. The early Sultāns raised buildings when they could find time from incessant warfare. Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī combined rare genius as a fighter, a builder and a man of culture who welcomed noted scholars. In keeping with his dynamic personality he welcomed the ambassador from Abū Sa'īd, the cultured ruler of Transoxiana and maintained friendly relations with Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, the enlightened ruler of Kashmir.[2] There is no evidence to prove that Mahmūd maintained an atelier of painters, though he might have done so if we can infer that the illustrated copy of the *Ni'mat Nāma* (*c.* A.D. 1500-1510) and the *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* of the British Museum (Figs. 129-130) are not isolated works of some Persian artists at the Mandu court, but presage a period of development. In this connection, however, it may be noted that while there is hardly any evidence to prove the existence of a school of painting patronized by the court, the indigenous school of painting, as evident from the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh, shows a flourishing state of affairs. There is also no evidence that

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[2] Moti Chandra and V. S. Agrawala, "A Note on Some Cultural References in Śrīvara Paṇḍita's *Rāja-taranginī*", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 7, 1959-62, pp. 35-40.

this new development in the traditional art reflects the spirit of innovation generated by the Sultanate court. It may be so or it may be due to the existence of a superior and more imaginative indigenous artist at Mandu. Such a phenomenon is quite common in the art of all countries.

Ghiyās-ud-dīn (A.D. 1469), the successor of Mahmūd announced his intention to lay down the cares of state and to enjoy the sensuous pleasures of life. Following strictly his avowed object Ghiyās-ud-dīn, as is well known, filled his seraglio with beautiful girls, Indian and foreign, who were accomplished in various arts and crafts and who joined him at dinner time.

It is true Ghiyās-ud-dīn's rule could by no stretch of imagination be termed glorious, yet at least in one respect it was of some significance. Though the Persian historians do not mention it, painting seems to have received some patronage from Ghiyās-ud-dīn.[3] The title of an illustrated cooking book which gives most delectable recipes, in the India Office Library, is *Kitāb-i-Ni'mat Nāmayi Nāsir Shāhī* (Figs. 131-139) which misleads one to believe that the book was written and illustrated in the reign of Nāsir-ud-dīn, the son and successor of Ghiyās-ud-dīn. As a matter of fact, a small appended work on cooking written in Nāsir's reign has given a misleading title to the whole work. The manuscript contains many recipes especially associated in the rubrics with Ghiyās-ud-dīn.

The text of the *Ni'mat Nāma* deals with a series of recipes of all kinds with prescriptions for medicines, aphrodisiacs, cosmetics, perfumes and occasional directions for their use and a section on hunting.

But while the subject matter of the *Ni'mat Nāma* throws some interesting sidelights on mediaeval culture, the illustrations open up a new chapter in the history of Indian painting in the first decade of the sixteenth century, just as the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* did in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It is very clear that the *Ni'mat Nāma* is strongly influenced by the Turkoman school of Shirāz of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The reason is not far to seek. It was most unlikely that the very superior painting of the Herāt school under Bāysunghur and Bayquara, so highly valued in its homeland itself would be available to the Sultanate courts in India. In the circumstances it was natural that only the products of a more provincial character such as those of the Turkoman school would find their way to Sultanate courts and bibliophiles in the Sultanate kingdoms.

Whether the *Ni'mat Nāma* is the work of one or more Persian artists at the Mandu court who imbibed certain indigenous influences such as are seen in their representation of Indian women, or whether it is the work of Indian artists who largely followed the Turkoman style from manuscripts which they had seen is controversial. Khandalavala inclines to the former view, but envisages the possibility of an Indian artist assisting the Persian master under his guidance. But be that as it may, and even if the former view-point is correct, the marked intrusion of the Turkoman style, as seen in these two manuscripts painted at Mandu must have had some influence on the development of indigenous painting.

The following stylistic points may be noted:

1. The draughtsmanship is simple and the studied refinement of the Herāt school is absent. This Turkoman style, Indianised to a certain extent, may have also existed in the

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[3] Robert Skelton, "The Ni'mat nama: A Landmark in Malwa Painting", *Mārg*, Vol. XII, No. 3, June 1959, pp. 44-45. It was first brought to public notice by Mr. Robert Skelton.



Pl. 11. Preparation and perfuming of *sherbat*. Folio from the *Ni'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

last quarter of the fifteenth century, if Turkoman illustrated manuscripts had come to the court by then or Persian artists working in the Turkoman style were in employ at Mandu prior to *c.* A.D. 1500. But there is no evidence on which to base conclusions.

2. The landscape shows a combination of the Persian and Indian elements. The Persian elements of the Turkoman style which predominate, are the lush vegetation often seen in Turkoman style miniatures, a series of curves forming the outlines of rounded hillocks punctuated by a continuous series of comma-like strokes, Chinese ribbon-like clouds with rosettes, as also the bolder Chinese foliated clouds, and hillocks covered with tufts of small flowering plants patterning the background of the paintings as it were. The trees and plants, however, are of Persian and Indian types. The Persian type of trees have standard forms with sinuous trunks and delicate stems branching out into several clusters of foliage (Fig. 135). In the Indian type the foliage is conventionally treated (Figs. 130 and 132), the crown is generally heart-shaped, round or ovaloid with clusters of leaves painted over

it. Of course, it may be noted that the round type of tree (Fig. 132) also has its counterpart in fifteenth century Persian painting.[4]

3. The architecture is simple consisting of a pavilion with domed roof, such as seen in Mandu, or rarely a hall, at times associated with a water tank. Only stray elements of contemporary buildings seem to have been employed and it is not possible to relate the architecture in the miniatures to any existing buildings. Marked preference is shown for tile work which is also a pronounced characteristic of the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* miniatures (Figs. 156-175). This is a conspicuously Persian feature. The interior decoration is luxurious. Comfortable beds, boxes, trays, *bandanwārs* and carpets constitute the usual furnishing material.

4. The figure of the king is treated either in three-quarter view of the Turkoman style or in strict profile. In the treatment of female figures both Persian and Indian types appear side by side. In the Persian type the figures so closely approximate to the female figures in Turkoman painting, that one wonders if the theory of an Indian painter being the artist of the manuscript can be seriously countenanced. In the Indian type the face is in profile and the small pointed nose, thin lips, sloping chin, and fish-shaped eye, indicate the indigenous tradition. It would not be surprising if the face of the female types, both Indian and Persian, of the *Ni'mat Nāma* influenced the growth of a facial type which is seen in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540. In both manuscripts one sees the small doll-like face with perky nose. Of course, in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 the eyes are treated in an Indian tradition having a pronounced ovaloid shape and stretching almost over the full length of the profile. It should also be noted that while the women of Persian origin have usually a very fair complexion, the Indians have complexions varying from fair to dark. The Abyssinians have black complexions. These must be women of the female Abyssinian guard which Ghiyās-ud-dīn had around him, while some of the fair complexioned women must be members of his female Turkish guard. But strangely neither is armed in the manner described by the historian Firishta,[5] namely, the former with fire arms and the latter with bows and quivers. The Indian type may well have been derived from the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1439.

5. The Sultān is always dressed in a *jāma,* trousers, cap or *pagrī* tied over a skull cap *(kulāh).* The women are dressed in Indian and Persian costumes. The Persian type wears *pairhan,* trousers, belt and *pagrī* tied over the *kulāh.* Some women wear trellised turbans with *kulāh,* some cover their heads with scarves and some even go without any head-gear. The Indian women in Persian dress, however, wear earrings and bangles. The Hindu women wear a skirt, a transparent *oḍhanī* covering a part of the chest and stretched in a straight triangle as if some stiffening material had been used, and *cholī.*

6. Changes in the mode of composition, however, are marked, as compared to the indigenous tradition. The composition is no longer confined to strictly limited figures whose relationship with one another has to be assumed and not established pictorially. The division of the composition in more than one compartment, a characteristic feature of the older tradition, is also not seen. The format of a painting to suit the position of the text is also typically Persian. In consonance with the Turkoman tradition the composition is divided into several groups of figures around the King performing the duties assigned to

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[4] G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes,* Vol. I, Paris, 1913, fig. 65.

[5] J. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India,* Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1910, p. 237.

them. The composition often shows a leaning towards landscape effects with vegetation and trees in Turkoman style, though trees in the Indian style are also included on occasion. The rich vegetation often occupies almost the entire background. Water reservoirs are also introduced. If the painters were Persian artists of the Turkoman school all this would be most natural. It may be noted that a few of the conventions seen in the *Ni'mat Nāma* illustrations seem to have influenced the so-called Malwa idiom of the Rajasthani school, such as the rounded hillock with wavy dotted rim and grassy mounds employing the Turkoman convention of a closely set group of ascending semi-circles as seen in Fig. 136 of the *Ni'mat Nāma*. Moti Chandra thinks that some of the conventions of the *Ni'mat Nāma* influenced Rajasthani painting in general and also the Mughal school, such as the introduction of hills with tufts of grass and plants, but Khandalavala limits the influence in Rajasthani painting to a couple of features seen in the so-called Malwa idiom and already referred to. As far as Mughal painting is concerned, Khandalavala thinks there is no influence at all of



Pl. 12 Method of preparing bread by mixing oil and flour. Folio from the *Ni'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

the *Ni'mat Nāma* to be discerned therein and attributes the presence of hills with tufts of grass seen in Mughal painting to the direct influence of Persian painting of the Ṣafavid period and their presence in Rajasthani painting as a derivative from Mughal painting. Khandalavala also feels that the Turkoman school with its provincial character would hardly have been acceptable to the Mughal Imperial atelier when it possessed so great a Ṣafavid painter as Mīr Sayyid 'Alī as its master-artist.

7. Though in the *Ni'mat Nāma* illustrations a mode of expression different to what had preceded it in India is seen, because of the strong Turkoman bias, yet what influence it exercised is problematic and controversial. In the rest of northern and western India, though the prevailing styles were affected by the innovation of eliminating the farther protruding eye, they retained the older methods of expression. In the *Laur-Chandā* miniatures of the Prince of Wales Museum, however, one may see the emergence of an individual style which appears to have been influenced to a considerable extent by the Turkoman style. This influence of the Turkoman style on the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* is far more likely to be a direct influence from Persia rather than via Mandu where the *Ni'mat Nāma* was painted. All Sultanate courts which patronized any form of painting must have had only Turkoman or other provincial style manuscripts at their disposal and only provincial school Persian painters in their employ. Manuscripts and painters from the great schools of Bāysunghur and Bayquara would never be available to them. But all the Sultanate courts valued direct contacts with Persia in all cultural pursuits and therefore they must have sought to obtain manuscripts in such provincial styles as were procurable and similarly employed such provincial Persian painters as were agreeable to come to India.

That the *Ni'mat Nāma* was not a solitary phenomenon in Mandu is indicated by the discovery of another illustrated manuscript (Figs. 129 and 130), a Persian lexicograph called *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* in the British Museum (Or. 3299).[6] It evidences the same strong influence of the Turkoman school of Shirāz. In the scene representing a ploughman (Fig. 130), the hilly background is covered with flowering plants and tufts of grass and the rim has the characteristic "commas" of the Turkoman style. The Chinese clouds are also present. The ploughman himself represented in three quarter profile and wearing a *kulāh* and a long tunic is Persian and not Indian. The treatment of the bullocks and a conventional banyan tree, however, indicates that the manuscript was illustrated in India. In fact, it was written at Mandu by Shādī-ābādī in the sixteenth century. In another painting representing a weaver (Fig. 129), the background is covered with rich vegetation, in the characteristic Turkoman manner, and the figure of the weaver is also in the style of Turkoman painting. Here again it is fairly certain that the illustrations are the work of a Persian artist. It may be assigned to *c.* A.D. 1500-1510.

However, one has to face certain difficulties in assigning provenances and dates to some of the other manuscripts which also tell the story of the new developments in painting in the sixteenth century. Moreover, a distinction has to be borne in mind between certain groups of these sixteenth century manuscripts. The *Ni'mat Nāma,* the *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā,* the *Laur-Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum and the *Laur-Chandā* of the Rylands Library may be regarded as a court art satisfying the circumscribed connotation to which the term

[6] Norah M. Titley, "An Illustrated Persian Glossary of the Sixteenth Century," *The British Museum Quarterly,* Vol. XXIX, No. 1-2, 1965, pp. 15-19. We are obliged to Mr. Douglas Barrett for drawing our attention to it and supplying photographs.

"Sultanate Painting" should be limited. On the other hand another group of sixteenth century manuscripts such as the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, the Lahore Museum and Chandigarh Museum *Laur-Chandā*, the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta Govinda*, the Asiatic Society of Bombay *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 are, according to Khandalavala, to be separately considered from the former group. To this group he feels the application of the term Sultanate Painting would be a misnomer, for they are differently conceived both from the above mentioned courtly style manuscripts as well as from the bourgeois style manuscripts of the *Sikandar Nāma* group. If the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group is to be termed Sultanate Painting then, he maintains, there is no logical reason why the *Vasanta Vilāsa*, the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra*, the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 and the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 and other such manuscripts should not also be termed Sultanate Painting. Hence the need for using this terminology with some thought and care and not merely as a facile and novel phrase. Several illustrated manuscripts which were formerly classified under the generic term Rajasthani must now be regarded as belonging to a northern belt extending from Delhi to eastern Uttar Pradesh. There is, however, every possibility that in course of time this style with its centre at Delhi, Agra and Jaunpur travelled to Mandu, Gujarat and Rajasthan and created local variants.

The earliest dated manuscript in the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* or *kulāhdār* group, as it is sometimes called, is an illustrated manuscript of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* containing a very large number of illustrations[7] (Colour Pls. 13-16). The colophon informs us that in Samvat 1573 (A.D. 1516) while Sultān Sikandar ruled at Yoginīpura (Delhi) the Chaudhurīs of Chandrāpurī resided in the river fort situated at *Kachchhauvā*. One of these Chaudhurīs named Bhānadāsa got a copy of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* written and illustrated by the Kāyastha Bhavānīdāsa for his own use.

Chandrāpurī of the inscription can be identified with Chandawar on the Jamunā in Tahsil Fīrozābād and Kachchhauvā with Kachaura also on the Jamunā, fifty-seven miles from Agra. Though the colophon does not specifically state so, it seems that the manuscript was written and painted by a Kāyastha artist most probably in the Agra area where these Chaudhurīs resided. The reference to Yoginīpura is only a reference to the reign of Sikandar Shāh Lodī at his capital city and the context in which it is mentioned would not justify the manuscript being ascribed to Yoginīpura. It is, however, a forerunner of the style which prevailed at Yoginīpura in A.D. 1540, as we can conclude from the study of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of that date painted at Palam. It is of interest to note that Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1489-1517) ruled over Delhi, Agra and Jaunpur areas and that in A.D. 1504 he set up his new capital at Agra. Thus it is clear that the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* was illustrated in the northern belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur which has been surmised by us as the area to which probably most of the *kulāhdār* manuscripts belong.

The following distinguishing points in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* illustrations may be noted:

1. In the treatment of the human figure the survival of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition is more pronounced than in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540. It is evident in the exaggerated chest, sharp nose, indifferent treatment of hands and feet and very large eyes. In the treatment of the female figure, however, the manuscript shows the crystallization

[7] Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala, "An Illustrated Manuscript of the Āraṇyaka Parvan in the Collection of the Asiatic Society, Bombay," *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay*, N. S., Vol. 38, 1963, pp. 116-121. We thank Miss Durga Bhagwat, who first discovered it, for bringing it to our notice.



Pl. 13. Kuntī lying on the bed disconsolate. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchhauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay

of a type which later on developed into the female type of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* and the *Laur-Chandā* of the Lahore Museum and Chandigarh Museum. The female type has a narrow waist, pointed nose and squarish face.

2. The workmanship of the illustrations is somewhat crude and folios are divided in two or three compartments. The background which is usually red, is often enlivened by the patches of blue, green or yellow.

The composition is extremely simple, divided at times into more than one register, each register containing a part of the story. These registers themselves are at times divided into sub-compartments representing a part of the narration very briefly. In most of the illustrations Vaiśampāyana appears at the top relating the story of the *Mahābhārata* to Janamejaya—a cliché which is followed in the Lahore Museum *Laur-Chandā* illustrations which similarly depict its author Maulānā Dāūd in almost every folio. Another interesting feature of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* is, that not only each illustration is labelled but the names of the participating characters and even of rivers, mountains and hermitages are inscribed. This practice of explanatory labels is later found in the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, the Lahore Museum *Laur-Chandā* and in certain cases in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540. Apparently the practice was resorted to in order to acquaint the readers with the events represented not allowing

them their own interpretations. We may assume that persons like the Chaudhurīs who got the manuscript written and illustrated could hardly claim to be Sanskrit scholars. It is not without significance that these labels are in Hindi, so that even those who did not know Sanskrit could be aided to understand the illustrations.

3. The landscape and architecture are reduced to a minimum owing to the strictly limited space of the composition. A very interesting feature of the landscape is the representation of the *tīrthas*, which is almost symbolical, consisting of a river,a lotus lake or a tree with which a particular *tīrtha* is said to have been connected.

The trees are generally represented in the conventional manner of the indigenous tradition, hills by a conglomeration of foliated rocks and the sky by a strip of blue. Animals consisting of the tiger, black buck, elephant, horse and ox as well as birds are treated rather attractively.

4. The majority of the illustrations are apt to be simple and repetitive but even these reveal some very interesting features. For instance, in the scenes of certain forests through which the Pāṇḍavas passed and through which Damayantī wandered, the artist within his own limited talent has attempted to create a forest atmosphere with only a few trees and foliated rocks and the effort is quite pleasing. Often the battle scenes retain vigour of action.



Pl. 14. The adventures of Nala and Damayantī. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchhauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay.



Pl. 15. The adventures of Damayantī. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchhauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Another interesting feature is that some of the compositions are very near to those of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. For instance, the scene (Colour Pl. 13) showing Kuntī lying down on a bed in a pavilion bemoaning the departure of her sons to the forest and again bidding farewell to one of them outside the pavilion may be mentioned. The composition could easily be compared with a similar composition in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* though the purpose of the composition is quite different. Even closer still to the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style is Colour Pl. 16 which shows Draupadī addressing Satyabhāmā.

It is also significant that in most cases no attempt is made to relieve the monotony of the monochrome background by any expedient, though at times, specially in the forest scenes, the introduction of a few trees, hills and animals suggest a very abbreviated version of landscape painting. A minimum use of architecture also attempts at times to relieve the monotony of the monochrome background. This may be due to the restricted space in which the artist worked or possibly it may also be due to lack of interest in preparing an elaborately painted manuscript for the Chaudhurīs who were ordinary *Zamīndārs* and who probably had no interest in luxurious or expensive manuscripts as such.

5. The costumes represent the types in use in the Lodī period. The Hindus go in *dhotīs* and turbans but the more refined amongst them are shown as wearing turbans, *jāmas* and *salwārs*. The *chākdār jāma* of the Akbar period is absent, though several types of long

and short *jāmas* are depicted. The *kulāhdār* turban is a common feature of the male costume. Warriors of course go in armour or in *jāmas, salwārs* and turbans.

The costume of the women almost never varies. It consists of the transparent *oḍhanī*, which baloons out behind the head and which is wrapt round the upper part of the body like a *sāṛī*, skirt and long *paṭkā* with schematic folds which is a distinguishing feature of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group. In depicting the female costume the ends of the *oḍhanī* are shown in stiff triangular projections.

6. In the treatment of the human figure, two points deserve attention. The complexion of both men and women is either yellow or brown—a legacy of the Western Indian or Gujarati school. In the treatment of loose hair the strands towards their ends have a taut wire-like appearance. This treatment of the hair became a cliché in the paintings of the sixteenth century.

7. The painters and the writers of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 were Kāyasthas and apparently the members of their family including perhaps the women, children and pupils must have been engaged in completing the manuscripts.



Pl. 16. Draupadī telling Satyabhāmā about the devotion to one's husband. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchhauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Hence the illustrations are uneven in technical execution and quality. It also shows that the Mochi Kāyasthas who worked as painters in the eighteenth and nineteenth century at Banaras, Patna, etc., followed a profession deeply rooted in the past.

8. In one of the miniatures a cannon is shown which means that at least as early as A.D. 1516 it had been introduced into India, ten years before the battle of Panipat, in A.D. 1526, when Bābur defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī and in which cannons were used. In fact, the first use of the cannon in India goes back to a much earlier date but this is the earliest illustration of it of which we are aware.

9. In spite of the somewhat crude workmanship of the illustrations their importance lies in the fact that they show the emergence of certain conventions which must have established themselves before A.D. 1516. The conventional landscape, the use of the red background or patches of red, green, blue and yellow, minimum architecture, stormy skies, stylized trees, hook tipped rocks, pompons attached to the jewelry worn by women and rudimentary perspective are some of the features which the early Rajasthani school may possibly have adopted from this northern school. But, at the same time it has to be remembered that most of these features also appear in the Western Indian or Gujarati style before A.D. 1516; and the Rajasthani artists were very familiar with these features because the illustrated Jain manuscripts produced in Rajasthan were similar to those produced in Gujarat. Therefore, the probability is that the influence on Rajasthani painting of these conventions was in the main via the Western Indian or Gujarati school and not via the illustrated manuscripts of the northern Indian belt. Of course, Mughal painting also had a dominating influence in the formation of the Rajasthani schools.

Whatever strides this bourgeois painting made between A.D. 1516 and A.D. 1540 is anybody's guess in the absence of documents. But an illustrated manuscript of the *Mahāpurāṇa* (Colour Pls. 17-19 and Figs. 140-145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154 and 155) dealing with the lives of Ṛishabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, and his equally illustrious son Bharata, dated A.D. 1540 and written at Palam near Delhi, shows that the style of this *Mahāpurāṇa* while retaining almost all the mannerisms of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 had achieved a certain advancement in technique. It seems that in the late fifteenth century, painting was no longer the privilege of the Śvetāmbara Jains only and that the Digambaras had also realized its propaganda value.

The colophon of the *Mahāpurāṇa* reads as follows:

(This work was written) on Tuesday, the 13th day of second fortnight of the month of Phālgun in Vikrama Samvat 1597. It was the time when the great fort of Joginīpura (Delhi) situated in Kuru was under rule of Bādshāh Sultān Shāh 'Ālam (Sher Shāh), at the sacred place called Pālamva (modern Palam)......................... (then follows the genealogy of the teachers..............) one Dharmadāsa, (.................... then follows the genealogy of Chaudhurī Rāimalsen) who got the Mahāpurāṇa Ādikhaṇḍa consisting of eight thousand *ślokas* to be written for the destruction of his *karmas*. Rāimal also got it illustrated. This was done by Kāyastha Harinātha, with his family. Written by the Brāhmaṇa Vishṇudāsa.

There are several points of interest in the colophon. Firstly, it supports the view that in the Delhi-Agra area a school of bourgeois painting flourished in A.D. 1540 which was the first year of Sher Shāh's rule after the flight of Humāyūn. Therefore, it is clear that even during the Mughal rule this style of painting was in vogue for bourgeois productions. This

is quite natural because the Mughal school of painting had not even come into being. There was no Mughal school either in the reign of Bābur, A.D. 1526-1530, or of Humāyūn, A.D. 1530-1556. It was only on Humāyūn's return to Delhi in A.D. 1555 that his two Persian masters could have set to work in India. But Humāyūn died within a year of his regaining his throne. The belief that the *Hamza Nāma* was started in his reign can be completely discountenanced. There is no evidence to support the suggestion and on the contrary there is cogent evidence that it was commenced by Akbar in A.D. 1567. The discovery of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 establishes that the style of the *Mahāpurāṇa* was derived from Lodī times and continued probably till the Mughal atelier of Akbar began production in right earnest and on a scale to influence painting all over the country, which till then must have been in the Lodī manner, at least in the northern belt. The colophon further informs us that the manuscript was painted by the Kāyastha Harinātha and members of his family. This information is significant because the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 was also painted by a Kāyastha artist in the Agra area. It is also notable that according to tradition, painting was being done professionally by the Kāyasthas of eastern U.P. The late Ishwari Prasad, a modern hereditary painter from Bihar, was a Kāyastha.

The *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 is at present in the collection of the Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.[8] Its importance lies in the fact that it shows the continuity of a school of painting whose earliest dated example is preserved in the illustrated copy of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516. The illustrations of the *Mahāpurāṇa* are also closely associated in several respects with the illustrations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Shri Vijayendra Sūri *Rāgamālā*, the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Mirgāvat*, the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta Govinda*, the Lahore Museum *Laur Chandā* and the *Chaurapañchāśikā* in the N. C. Mehta collection now in the Museum at Ahmedabad. The problems concerning this style of bourgeois painting are rather complex and the authors of the present book themselves differ on questions of chronology. But they are agreed from the evidence at present available that there is every likelihood that the northern belt from Delhi to Uttar Pradesh fostered the origin of the present style and that its diffusion perhaps to Malwa and Rajasthan took place thereafter. The following features of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 deserve notice:

1. The stylization of the Western Indian or Gujarati school has been considerably modified and the farther projecting eye has been completely eliminated. The male type though almost the same as in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 shows a loosening of the earlier stiffness. In the angularity of the nose, largeness of the eyes, thin twisted moustache, exaggerated chest, indifferent drawing of the hands and feet and yellow complexions, one may see the survival of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition of the fifteenth century.

The female type is treated more delicately than in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. This may be due to the more accomplished technique of the painters or to some influence from a facial type such as is seen in the *Ni'mat Nāma* of *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. The female face in particular is more naturalistic, despite its stylization and the exaggerated *paḍol*-shaped eyes. The quite attractive doll-like countenance is far removed from the intense and angular faces of the women in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, though it must be remembered that this intense

[8] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "Three New Documents of Indian Painting", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 7, 1959-62, pp. 23-27, Pls. 16-18b. We thank Dr. P. M. Joshi, former Director of Archives, Bombay for first bringing it to our notice and Sumati Bai of Sholapur for obtaining the original for our study.

angularity begins making itself felt in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516. The artists of the *Mahāpurāṇa* did not, however, favour it thus indicating an individualistic outlook and departure from what seems to have been the norm.

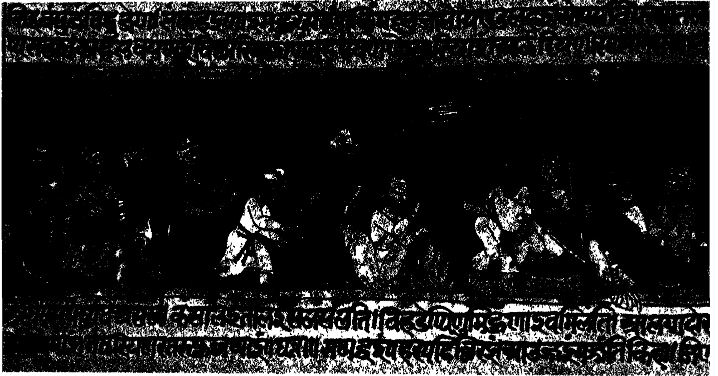
2. Most of the illustrations of the *Mahāpurāṇa* in common with the miniatures of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* follow the convention of a red background, but this is not invariably so. Backgrounds in other colours such as green and pink also make their appearance.

3. The format of the composition is horizontal and no attempt has been made to distinguish the planes. The illustrations usually cover the entire folio and the artist had a much greater scope for developing his composition than in the rather small format employed by the artists of the Western Indian or Gujarati school and followed by the artists of the developing tradition as seen in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516. It is the opportunity to utilize more space that has contributed considerably to the interest of several compositions, though criticism may be levelled against the manuscript in general that it is repetitive both in types and compositions and on the whole is definitely stylized. Nevertheless, some of the compositions possess a naive charm which entitle them to be considered as possessing some aesthetic merit apart from their quaintness, a feature which most of the illustrations of the Western Indian or Gujarati school as well as the new developing tradition in the early sixteenth century possess. This is certainly not a court art nor is it exactly a folk art. It is perhaps best described as a bourgeois art produced for middle class folk, such as the Chaudhurīs of the colophons who desired to possess illustrated manuscripts of a religious or secular character. Chaudhurīs were hereditary officers collecting revenue on behalf of the Sultāns and it is said they appropriated to themselves as much revenue as they could. In the time of the Khaljīs they are described as riding fine horses, wearing fine clothes, shooting with Persian bows, going out hunting and holding drinking and convivial parties. This description may also be applicable in Lodī times. Some of these country squires may well have developed a taste for illustrated manuscripts and a bourgeois art more than satisfied their requirements.

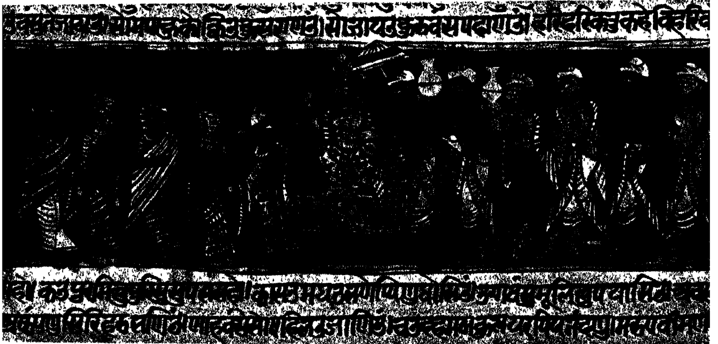
4. There is also a departure from the Western Indian or Gujarati miniatures as far as colour tonality is concerned. Though the usual red background is largely employed, a variety of colours—blue, green, yellow, brown etc., are used in the costume details, complexions, accessories and in the landscape, giving a varied richness to the compositions. The tonality is a change from the predominance of red, gold, and ultramarine blue of the Western Indian or Gujarati manuscripts. No gold is used either in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 or the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516.

5. Another significant characteristic of the *Mahāpurāṇa* is freer movement which characterizes both human and animal figures. Though the human figures, particularly of women, have a doll-like appearance with awkwardly drawn hands and feet, their movements expressed through freer attitudes of the body lead to a loosening of the stereotyped attitudes of the Western Indian or Gujarati miniatures. The experiments in colour tonality and movement indicate a fresh outlook, which later on, took a new turn in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

6. A further advance on the Western Indian or Gujarati miniature painting is seen in a more realistic approach in so far as scenes are taken from the daily life which the artists saw around them. In these genre scenes representing the royal court, dancing and music, marriages, armies on the march, battles, people engaged on farms, women bathing in ponds



(a) Ādinātha's marriage celebrations.



(b) Anointment of Ādinātha.

Pl. 17 (a and b) Folios from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

etc., one may see vignettes of Indian life, which charmed the painter and were woven by him into the purely hieratic tenor of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. This attitude towards secular themes, seen in the border decoration of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* manuscript, had now become stabilized and shows that a new outlook had dawned in the field of Indian miniature painting.

7. The *Mahāpurāṇa* is also notable for its treatment of landscape, animals and birds. The landscape is no longer symbolic consisting of a few trees, an animal or two or a solitary rock as in the Western Indian or Gujarati school. Not only does the landscape form a necessary adjunct of a particular theme, but is also used independently for its own sake. At one place (Fig. 143) one may see a lotus pond surrounded by date-palms and other decorative trees with aquatic birds and animals quenching their thirst, while in the lower register of the same miniature women are seen sporting in a lotus pool, its situation in a forest being indicated by the presence of animals. A hilly landscape is depicted by a pile of hooked rock-like forms (Figs. 145 and 148) and a river by the basket pattern (Fig. 148). Trees are highly stylized though the date-palm and the plantain tree retain their naturalism to a certain extent (Fig. 142).

Animals and birds though stylized are imbued with a freer sense of movement which is indeed pleasing (Figs. 141-143). For instance, the bulls are shown fighting in a village surrounding, (Colour Pl. 19a and Fig. 141), while the herdsmen play a game of backgammon. Elephants are shown fighting or rambling (Colour Pl. 19b and Fig. 143). Horses, elephants and camels in an army on the march (Colour Pl. 18b) display a spiritedness which is novel in Indian miniature art. In one scene (Colour Pl. 19b) many denizens of the jungle are represented. Monkeys are shown climbing trees or picking up fruits, a stag and hind are browsing, a black antelope is pursuing its mate, fawns are gambolling, an elephant is brushing itself against a tree while another is trumpeting, a panther is in the act of leaping, a rhinoceros is goring a tree, a peacock wanders in the forest and smaller animals like jackals and rabbits are running at will. As a matter of fact, the miniatures show that the painter was well acquainted with the habits of animals and their forms. Birds though stylized also show lively movement. Parrots, peacocks, and aquatic birds are represented.

8. It is evident from the *Mahāpurāṇa* that the range of illustrations is far in excess of the limited subject-matter of the Western Indian or Gujarati paintings where the themes are mostly hieratic in character. There was, however, a definite departure from the usual hieratic formula in Gujarat in the second half of the fifteenth century. One finds the new experiment not only in the *Vasanta Vilāsa* dated A.D. 1451, but it continued in the border decorations of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra-Kālakāchārya* manuscript. It is also significant to note that certain features such as the ribbon-like Chinese clouds, borrowed from Persian painting and textile patterns begin to make their appearance in the border decoration of the Devasānā Pāḍo manuscript and in the *Bālagopāla Stuti*[9] (Fig. 97) both datable to the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The ribbon-like cloud does not appear in the manuscript of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. As a matter of fact, the bourgeois art which flourished in northern India in the first half of the sixteenth century shows hardly any significant Persian influence except perhaps in the treatment of horses, the little red flowers dotted over the

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[9] W. Norman Brown, "Early Vaishṇava Miniature Paintings from Western India", *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, Pls. CX, CXI and CXIII.



(a) Dance performance at Indra's court.



(b) Bharata's army arrives at Timisâ cave.

Pl. 18 (a and b). Folios from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540.
Śri Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

composition (Colour Pl. 17) and use of the carmine and ultramarine. In this style the development came from within and not from without. The use of the little red flowers was borrowed from Turkoman painting even in the *Ni'mat Nāma,* though it lost its natural appearance in the *Mahāpurāṇa* and degenerated into a meaningless mannerism of red dots.

9. Certain details of costumes, both male and female, also deserve notice. Whereas the costume in the Western Indian or Gujarati illustrations followed one traditional unchanging pattern and did not keep pace with the change of fashion for several centuries, the artist of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 obviously adopted various male and female costumes which were to be seen in the first half of the sixteenth century in the Delhi-Agra area and which must have been in common use during the rule of the Lodī Sultāns. We are of the opinion that the trellised *kulāhdār* turban was introduced into India by an Afghan dynasty, probably the Lodīs, and it is now certain that it was commonly in use during the Lodī rule, as evidenced by the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516. It went out of fashion, however, during the Mughal period. There is no warrant for supposing that this type of turban was worn in Mewar or any part of Rajasthan and there is an absence of tradition amongst the Rajputs of such turbans being worn by any Rajput clan. Thus Barrett's theory[10] that the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group might belong to Mewar does not seem probable, while Khandalavala's earlier suggestion[11] that the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* illustration might have been painted in Rajasthan was discarded by him when he concluded that the *kulāhdār* turban had never been known to be used in Rajasthan. So also Archer's ascription of the *Gīta Govinda* to Mewar[12] cannot be sustained on the evidence available at present unless such turbans were painted by Rajasthani illustrators regardless of their not being local to Rajasthan.

10. The female costume consists of a *sārī (salwār* in the case of dancers) *cholī* and *oḍhanī.* It is doubtless taken from the prevailing fashions including the wearing of the *oḍhanī* as a broad band diagonally across the breasts and concealing them.

The convention of the *oḍhanī* ballooning out behind the head, a very characteristic feature of the *Mahāpurāṇa,* is derived from the Western Indian or Gujarati manuscript illustrations where it is very common. It had, however, attained its most typical forms in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540.

11. Though the *Mahāpurāṇa* is profusely illustrated and a variety of *jāmas* short and long are depicted as being in fashion, there is not a single instance of a *chākdār jāma* (i.e. four pointed or six pointed) making its appearance. Khandalavala thinks that when several styles of *jāma* are illustrated and the *kulāhdār* turban is freely seen, the absence of the *chākdār jāma* in over three hundred illustrations suggests that it was not in use at the old Lodī capital of Delhi in A.D. 1540 when Sher Shāh came to the throne after the flight of Humāyūn. Since the *chākdār jāma* is also absent in a definitely dated Lodī period manuscript namely the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516, which is almost as extensively illustrated, Khandalavala feels that the problem of the *chākdār jāma* is of prime importance and may even prove a conclusive factor in deciding the period of miniatures of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. The problem

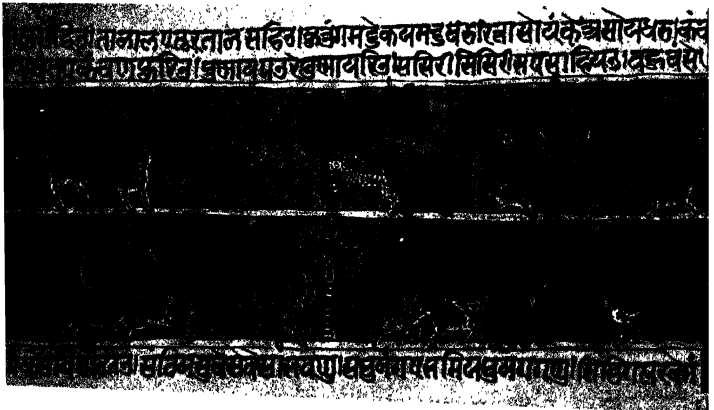
10 Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 64.

11 Karl Khandalavala, "A Gita Govinda Series in the Prince of Wales Museum", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 4, 1953-54, p. 9.

12 W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, Connecticut, 1960, Pl. 37. *Rajput Miniatures, Collection E. Binney, 1968.*



(a) Pastoral scene.



(b) Vaijayantī forest.

Pl. 19 (a and b). Folios from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540.
Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

which has to be faced according to him is whether or not the *chākdār jāma* was an innovation of Akbar's reign, though borrowed from some outside source. If it was an innovation of his reign then the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, wherein it appears, could not be earlier than A.D. 1560-70. To Moti Chandra, however, the *chākdār jāma* is not the only criterion by which one can judge the date of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of illustrations. Though there is no evidence so far to prove the existence of the *chākdār jāma* prior to the Akbar period its mere absence in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* and *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrations may not, according to Moti Chandra, be taken as a deciding factor in dating the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group to the Akbar period. The *chākdār jāma* is absent in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* of *c.* A.D. 1475 and the somewhat similar *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1501, though several types of *jāmas* appear in both these manuscripts. Hence it does not seem to have been in use in Gujarat in the late fifteenth century. It is not seen in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439, but its absence may be explained by the fact that no *jāmas* are depicted therein. So also its absence in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 may be explained on similar grounds. It is also not seen in the *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrav[13] (Colour Pl. 8) the *Sikandar Nāma* (Figs. 101-116), the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan *Shāh Nāma* (Figs. 127 and 128), the *Ni'mat Nāma* (Colour Pls. 11 and 12 and Figs. 131-139), the *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* (Figs. 129 and 130) the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 (Colour Pls. 13-16) or the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 (Colour Pls. 17-19, Figs. 140-145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154 and 155). Thus it did not prevail at Mandu in the beginning of the sixteenth century and is strangely enough not to be seen in the securely dated manuscripts of the first half of the sixteenth century done in the Delhi-Agra area, namely, the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540. If it was worn in that area in Lodi times its absence is indeed difficult to account for considering the fact that several varieties of *jāmas* appear in these two manuscripts. It does, however, appear in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* miniatures, the *Laur-Chandā* of the Lahore Museum, the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, the *Gīta Govinda* and the *Laur-Chandā* of Prince of Wales Museum, the Muni Vijayendra Sūri *Rāgamālā*, the *Mirgāvat* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan and the Rylands Library *Laur-Chandā*. On the basis of style, composition and colouring all these manuscripts excepting the *Mirgāvat* would appear to be considerably later than A.D. 1540. When one realizes that there is a gap of twenty-five years between the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 then it is quite easy to conceive of a gap of another twenty-five years between the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 and the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group or the *Laur-Chandā* manuscript of the Prince of Wales Museum and the *Laur-Chandā* of the Rylands Library. One has only to turn back to the Western Indian or Gujarati manuscripts to realize how almost identical motifs and facial types persisted for decades together extending to a century and more. The *Mirgāvat* is a folkish production and hence it could easily be a folk version of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style in which event the appearance of the *chākdār jāma* therein is easily understandable. If we are to equate the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group in point of time with the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 or the still earlier *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516, then we have to account for the absence of the *chākdār jāma* in all the late fifteenth century bourgeois manuscripts as well as the two dated manuscripts of A.D. 1516 and 1540. To attempt to get over the difficulty by saying that one group includes to it and another does not, despite both being regarded as contemporary, is to by-pass the very problem which demands a solution. The constant appearance of the

[13] R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, New Delhi, 1961, Pl. 1.

*chākdār jāma* in the *Hamza Nāma* of Akbar's reign indicates that it was in fashion even earlier than A.D. 1567 in which year the *Hamza Nāma* was commenced. Thus its appearence at the Mughal court was due to its being borrowed from some outside source for it was not in use at Humāyūn's court. If it is a revival of a Lodī style of wearing the *jāma* it ought to have appeared in the manuscripts of A.D. 1516 and A.D. 1540. Though Khandalavala feels that the *chākdār jāma* was in fact a Lodī costume, he is of opinion that it is unscientific to date paintings with exactitude only by feelings and it is better to adopt wider limits in face of concrete obstacles till fresh evidence helps to narrow the gap.

The presence of the *kulāhdār* turban is yet another feature of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. It is a characteristic feature of the Lodī period costume and constantly appears in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516. It seems to have prevailed upto A.D. 1540 in any event, because it appears regularly in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of that date. But thereafter it lost popularity and disappears to all intents and purposes by Akbar's reign. Thus we have a somewhat anomalous situation namely, that the Lodī turban is discarded by the Mughal court whereas the Lodī *jāma,* assuming the *chākdār jāma* is a Lodī costume, becomes the prevailing fashion at the self same court. One possibility that has to be countenanced is that the *chākdār jāma* and *kulāhdār* turban were in fashion in the Jaunpur area during the Lodī period while only the *kulāhdār* turban was in fashion in the Delhi-Agra area during the same period. If the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group and the *Laur-Chandā* manuscripts of the Prince of Wales Museum and Rylands Library all belong to the Jaunpur area, then one can reconcile them to a pre-Akbar date despite the presence of the *chākdār jāma*. One may then conclude that the Mughal court in the reign of Akbar borrowed the *chākdār jāma* from the prevailing Lodī fashion at Jaunpur. As a matter of fact, the paintings of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group have such an individual mode of expression that there is hardly any parallel to them in Mughal painting, but that would not prevent the use of contemporary costumes in them, be they of the Mughal period or the Lodī period. Anyway, one need not be unnecessarily dogmatic about the date of the group and must await further evidence for precise dating.

12. The style, format and content of the Digambara *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 does not seem to be an independent growth in the early sixteenth century but follows in the matter of composition, at least, the conventions laid down in the illustrated manuscript of the *Mahāpurāṇa,* datable to the last quarter of fifteenth century, in the collection of Śrī Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi.[14]

The illustrations in the Nayā Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa* appear on both sides of the folios and at times full page illustrations appear. The background is uniformly lacquer red. The palette is limited to white, black, blue, yellow, carmine, green, magenta etc. A certain amount of shading is seen in the treatment of mountains (Fig. 149) and trees. The monotony of the plain background is relieved by flowers, rosettes and decorative fringes. Architecture is reduced to the minimum. In the treatment of human figures the Western Indian or Gujarati style is followed with the angular distortion of the body and projection of the farther eye. The women are more delicately treated with almost pinpoint waists as in the *Laur-Chandā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Fig. 100), large eyes and well developed breasts (Fig. 98). A marked advance on the Western Indian or Gujarati style may be seen in

[14] Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated MS. of Mahāpurāṇa in the Collection of Sri Digambar Naya Mandir, Delhi", *Lalit Kalā,* No. 5, April 1959, pp. 68-81.

the variety of movement. The sky is represented by a wavy pattern and oblique strokes in black with a serpentine motif indicated. The trees are mostly conventional while the hills are represented by a series of reduplicated hooks and pyramids (Fig. 149). The *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 though differing considerably from the Nayā Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa* in style shows that so far as free movement and enlarged composition are concerned both the *Mahāpurāṇas* have a common factor.

From the material available to us it is clear that by the closing years of the fifteenth century there were two styles in vogue. The first, more conservative, continued to follow the old conventions, though alive to new possibilities within its own framework; and the other, which was aware of a new trend in art and its social background but could not wholly rid itself of the burden of tradition though it became amenable to a compromise in draughtsmanship, composition, landscape etc. The importance of the Nayā Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa* manuscript lies in the fact that by enlarging the space for composition a larger number of figures have been introduced resulting in convincing groupings and in the introduction of freer movement which could not be expected within the usual restricted area of the Western Indian or Gujarati illustrations. In the treatment of landscape as well, a freshness of outlook, different to the Western Indian or Gujarati school, may be seen. As a matter of fact, the artists seem to have been stirred by a new emotion and were groping for new forms of expression. If artistically they could not rise to any great heights yet at least they showed a new way to coming generations which it was for them to improve upon.

What part the Avadhī romances played in the development of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group will be discussed in the next chapter. Apart from the question of dating there were widely divergent view-points about the provenance of the several manuscripts which constitute the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group. But those controversies need not now detain us. The discovery of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516 painted in the Agra area, in which a fairly well developed *Chaurapañchāśikā* type of female figure appears (Colour Pl. 16) and of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 painted in the Delhi area lends satisfactory support to our view-point that the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group and the *Laur-Chandā* manuscripts of the Prince of Wales Museum and Rylands Library, all belong to a belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur. The theory of a Rajasthani or Central Indian provenance must now be excluded from the arena of conflict. These groups are not related to the *Ni'mat Nāma* which is a highly Persianised production. The date, however, still remains controversial. In any event the period A.D. 1525-1570, which Khandalavala prefers, accommodates all important view-points. But we do believe that in the near future further discovery will narrow down these limits which today provide a suitable margin of error.

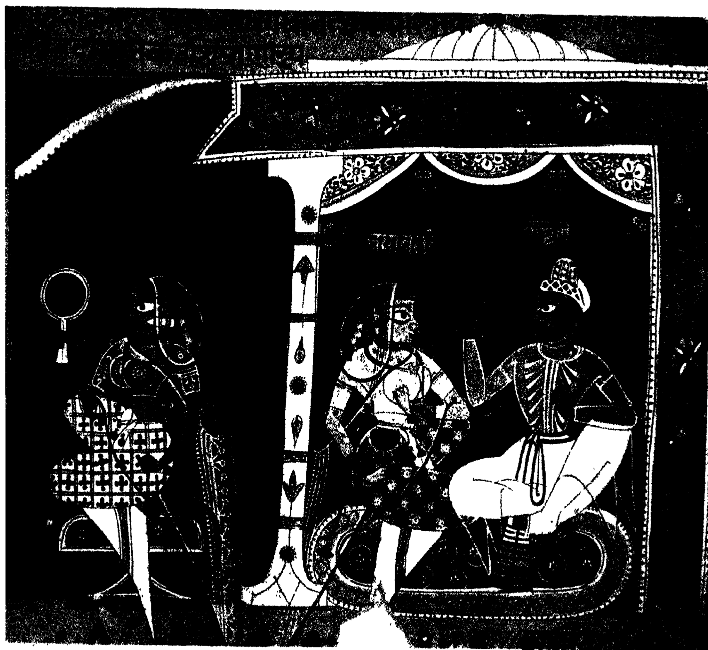
The *Chaurapañchāśikā*, a collection of fifty love lyrics is ascribed to Vilhaṇa, a Kashmiri poet who flourished in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. A romantic legend is associated with the composition of these poems. The poet Vilhaṇa is said to have fallen in love with a princess to whom he was a tutor. Her father discovered their clandestine intimacy and condemned him to death. While being led to his execution the poet recited fifty scintillating love lyrics interspersed with erotic passages proclaiming his everlasting affection for his beloved. The King moved by the poet's deep love, pardoned him and gave him his daughter in marriage. Her name appears in the illustrations as Champāvatī.

Whatever may be the date and provenance of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations, there

is hardly any doubt that they show the climax of a style whose beginning is seen in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516. In this connection two other possible points of view may be noted. The first is that the *Chaurapañchāśikā* may be contemporary with the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and that the difference in quality may be ascribable to the fact that the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* was the work of more folkish painters for a bourgeois clientele while the *Chaurapañchāśikā* was the work of superior artists for a more aristocratic clientele. The second is that the *Chaurapañchāśikā* is even earlier than A.D. 1516 being the culmination of its style and that the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 shows that the degeneration of that style had commenced. On this basis the *Chaurapañchāśikā* would have to be put as early as *c.* A.D. 1500. We, however, still feel that the *Chaurapañchāśikā* is a very considerable advance on the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516, showing the highest development of that style and therefore, is considerably later. If it were not for the presence of the *chākdār jāma* in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings then Khandalavala would also be prepared to limit the date to about A.D. 1550, but because of its presence he prefers a margin of error upto A.D. 1570. Moti Chandra feels that A.D. 1550 may be the most probable date. In the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* the manner of expression is halting and though all the ingredients of a new school are there, yet the artist could not rise above certain limitations of the bourgeois style. In the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 the bourgeois style becomes more positive in the treatment of animals and landscape, but in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group it gains a refinement which definitely places it outside the run of the common bourgeois manuscripts. At the same time it cannot be described as a court art by any means. In the *Chaurapañchāśikā* the background is intense red or green and the architecture is represented by a simple pavilion (Colour Pl. 20). But even the simple pavilion with carefully painted columns and eaves and comfortable interior decoration consisting of tasselled fringes, colourful carpets and luxuriously furnished beds shows a better understanding of its purpose. There is not much landscape and the sky is depicted by a patch of blue edged with a black and white curling line.

But the real achievement of the artist may be seen in the representation of Vilhaṇa, his beloved Champāvatī and her confidantes. The clear cut draughtsmanship eschews hesitancy. It defines the body contours in straight lines, angles and well modulated curves, the elements employed by the Western Indian or Gujarati painters and later on adopted by the early sixteenth century painters who, however, were not technically qualified to define pictorially what they intended. But the illustrator of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* knew what he intended to do and thus line became a vehicle of his thought. His heroine is a lissom type with large eyes extending over the entire profile, sharply pointed nose, vertical forehead, small thin lips, pointed double chin, large firm round breasts with one intersecting the other, well modulated hands with fingers in varying gestures expressing her mood, narrow waist and her yellow complexion reminding us of the standard of womanly beauty laid down in Sanskrit literature. The hero is sturdy with prominent nose and chin, thin red lips, *paḍol*-shaped eyes, thin recurved moustache, whiskers and a beard of downy hair suggested by a dark colour wash which at first sight may appear only to be colour modelling. His hands are shown gesticulating and he has a sandal-wood complexion.

The costumes are in keeping with the elegance of the draughtsmanship. The heroine wears a transparent *oḍhanī* ballooning at the back of the head with one end passing transversely over the chest and standing out stiffly at an angle. The cut-away *cholī* which comes



Pl. 20. Vilhaṇa and Champāvatī. Folio from the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. N. C. Mehta Collection, Culture Centre, Ahmedabad.

right down to the waist as in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1439 (Colour Pl. 2) is made of plain or flowered material and the skirt is usually made of chequered material with a pouch on one side. A string of pearls extends along her hair, the plait of which is frequently interwoven with white flowers. If the end of the plait is not tied with a pompon, it is shown in its loose condition by a series of strands of wiry hair (Colour Pl. 20). The heroine as well as other females have pompons both at the wrist and on the armlets. Another very characteristic feature is the ivory ornament like a long, pointed, round peg which is worn right through the lobe of the ear. It is peculiar to the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group. A further feature which may be noted is the frequent patterning of the *cholī* with a circle of dots exactly where the nipples of the breasts are situated (Colour Pl. 20). This device is also seen as early as A.D. 1465 in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* (Fig. 43). In the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 and earlier still in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465, we had noted how the *oḍhanī* goes right across the chest in a broad band hiding the breasts, because the *oḍhanī* was of thick material. Now we have a distinct technical advance namely, the same fashion of wearing the *oḍhanī* but it is shown as transparent with considerable skill. Coinciding with the neck of the *cholī* one always finds a thin gold band. The long sash tucked into the waist at the front falls in a stiff triangular shape from under the thigh in the case of seated figures. The male costume consists of the trellised *kulāhdār* turban, *chākdār jāma* with a decorative fringe right down the front and *kamarband*. The pyjamas extend half way down the foot itself, a peculiar characteristic of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* miniatures. The earlier cliché of persons sitting at the farther end of a cushion or stool continues (Colour Pl. 20). In the *Chaurapañchāśikā* in common with certain other manuscripts, the turban is of the *kulāhdār* type but with this difference that the *kulāh* in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* is distinctively of the tall variety as opposed to the short *kulāhs* of all the other manuscripts of this group save the *Mirgāvat* where the tall *kulāh* is again seen (Fig. 184). One of the most interesting features of the male costume in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* is the presence in two paintings of a flat *aṭpaṭī* type turban with ribbon-like strands at the rear (Fig. 187) in the manner of the early Akbar period. Though these turbans resemble the turbans seen in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465, the latter do not have the ribbon-like strands at the back. The presence of this *aṭpaṭī* type turban in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* with the ribbon-like strands at the back could suggest that the series was painted in the early Akbar period. These ribbon-like strands at the rear so peculiar to Akbarī turbans are not seen either in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 or the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540.

We are not in a position to place the *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations in chronological order in the *kulāhdār* group. In view of the great divergency of opinion about the date of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, which has already been noted, certain suggestions may be made for what they are worth. It is significant to note that the ethnic type of the *Laur-Chandā* group began to crystallize by A.D. 1516 when the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* was illustrated. The types continued almost in the same form till A.D. 1540 when the *Mahāpurāṇa* was illustrated. If we compare the *Chaurapañchāśikā* type of female figures with their counterparts in the illustrated manuscripts dated between A.D. 1516 and 1540 it is apparent that the *Chaurapañchāśikā* figures are more evolved. This process of evolution must have taken place some time after A.D. 1540, though how long after, it is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge. A few more internal evidences may also be noted for what they are worth. For instance,

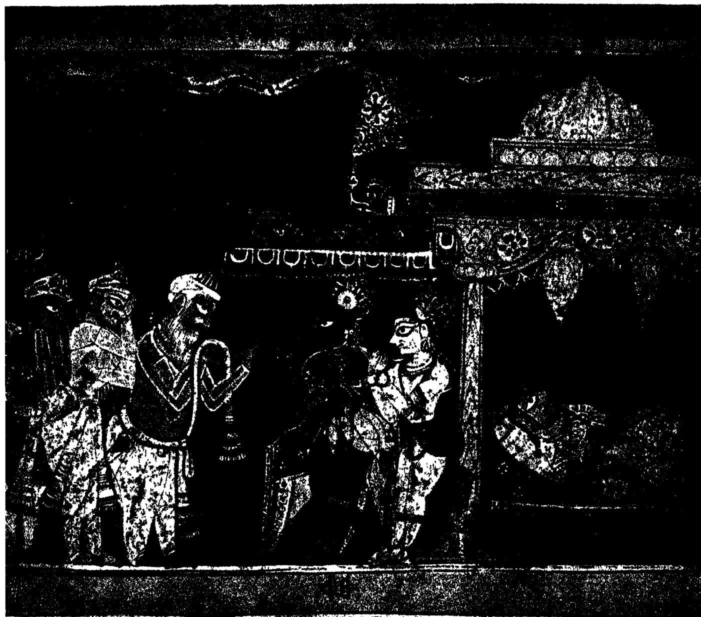
there appear in some illustrations a pattern of double rhizomes used without purpose as a pavilion decoration (Figs. 186, 187 and 191) or even carried to the horizon.[15] The rectangular band (Figs. 189 and 190) at the base which often became a feature of the so-called Malwa idiom in the seventeenth century is probably a carpet as suggested by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen.[16] These floral bands are rendered without fore-shortening so they appear as if seen in their full size from an elevated view-point just above them. One interesting point about the motif is that while in earlier examples, as for instance, in the *Būstān* manuscript of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn (A.D. 1500-1511), assuming it was painted in India which is very unilkely, and also in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*, the design of the carpet is an arabesque one, while in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations the design is a scroll of the Akbar period which continues though in a lifeless form in the so-called Malwa idiom of the Rajasthani school of the seventeenth century. Another feature of the *Chaurapañchāśikā,* which has a parallel in the Malwa idiom, is the *makara*-headed gargoyle emerging from the eaves which is also seen in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Colour Pl. 21). It also appears in the *Amaruśataka* series though in a different form.[17] In view of the development shown by the *Chaurapañchāśikā* miniatures over the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540, we are inclined to assign them to about A.D. 1550, though owing to the presence of the *chākdār jāma* Khandalavala preferes to extend the possible limit to *c.* A.D. 1570 so as to provide for a margin of error of about twenty years, in case no evidence is forthcoming in the future that the *chākdār jāma* was worn in the Lodī period. One very important feature of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* consists of the peculiar green and white marks in angles and circles with double separating lines along the bottom margin with or without red-dots interspersed at random (Colour Pl. 20). These peculiar markings are also seen in the *Gīta Govinda* of the Prince of Wales Museum (Colour Pls. 22 and 23). Their meaning and purpose are not at all clear. This strange feature in both these manuscripts can never be a matter of mere coincidence and certainly establishes that all manuscripts having this peculiar margin device must belong to the same area, if not the same town. If any one manuscript of this group can be ascribed to Uttar Pradesh then it would follow that all similar products of the *kulāhdār* group come from the same area. This much is certain that the *Laur-Chandā* story is linked with Uttar Pradesh and if the Lahore Museum *Laur-Chandā* can be ascribed to Uttar Pradesh then we would not be wrong in saying that this provenance is the home of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

Scholars are also not unanimous about the date and provenance of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* illustrations but they clearly belong to the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. They are now in many public and private collections (Colour Pl. 21 and Figs. 199-200). Forgetting for a moment all controversies, there is such marked stylistic affinity between the *Chaurapañchāśikā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* illustrations that one could hardly doubt that they belong to more or less the same period and that their provenance also is the same. In the matter of draughtsmanship, ethnic types, landscape, costumes and colours, there is hardly any difference between the two sets. Even in the matter of small details such as the use of *makara*-shaped gorgoyle in the eaves and in format save for the strange patterning on the lower margin already

[15] Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, fig. 14.

[16] Richard Ettinghausen, "The Bustan Manuscript of Sultan Nasir Shah Khalji", *Mārg*, Vol. XII, No. 3, June 1959, p. 43, fig. 12.

[17] Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated Set of Amaru Śataka", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 2, 1951-52, Pl. I, fig. 1.



Pl. 21. Nanda bidding goodbye to Kṛishṇa and Balarāma ready to leave for Mathura. Folio from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Provenance uncertain. Probably Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. National Museum, New Delhi.

referred to, both have a common tradition to draw upon. However, certain differences between the two sets may also be noted. The *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations are superb in draughtsmanship, decoration and colour. Nothing is left to chance. Every detail is preconceived and executed with precision. The participants in a composition never exceed four. In the *Bhāgavata* however, the draughtsmanship loses some of the refinement of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* and the figures of women though reminding us of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* type are less graceful. The composition is no longer confined to a very limited number of characters but is crowded with persons and incidents from the life of Krishṇa. The illustrations are divided in more than one register. But whatever the *Bhāgavata* series loses in fine execution it amply compensates itself in dramatic movement and emotional intensity. The staticism of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* now gives way to freer movement which imparts life to the *dramatis personae*. The new point of departure in the *Bhāgavata* series may also be seen in the growing appreciation of nature reflected in the representation of trees of both Indian and Persian types, dramatic skies covered with thunder clouds and the river water represented by spirals as in the Akbar period paintings perhaps indicating its date.

A series of Rāga and Rāgiṇī paintings, which must be connected with the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, in the collection of the Jain Āchārya Vijayendra Sūri (Figs. 196-198) was published by Dr. W. Norman Brown.[18] The folios measure about 26.7×11.5 cm. These dimensions correspond to the general range of dimensions of illustrated Western Indian manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The format is horizontal. The name of the Rāgas are inscribed above the illustrations. The prevailing colours are vermilion, a medium blue, green, yellow, white, black, occasionally a salmon and a light brown are used. The technique is the same as in other illustrations of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. The human figures, both male and female, however, are not represented in the refined style of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, but more in the bourgeois style of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* dated A.D. 1540. The characters in the compositions are strictly limited in number never exceeding three. The architecture is extremely simple consisting of only a pavilion. However, in some of the illustrations nature has received its due share. A night scene is depicted not only by the black background and dark sky but also by parallel lines of white dots indicating stars (Fig. 197). But the greatest appeal of the illustrations lies in the fact that probably they represent a very early group of *Rāgamālā* paintings. The date of this *Rāgamālā* series is again disputed. Dr. Norman Brown thinks that the series was executed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. We, however, find it difficult to agree with this view-point. It should also belong to *c.* A.D. 1550 or if the usual margin of error is provided then to A.D. 1525-1570.

The Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta Govinda* illustrations[19] (Colour Pls. 22 and 23) perhaps show the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style at its best. Whatever be the date of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* the same date or thereabout must also be ascribed to the *Gīta Govinda* series. Therefore, to our

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[18] W. Norman Brown, "Some Early Rājasthānī Rāga Painting", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* Vol. XVI, 1948, pp. 1-10.
Morice Dimand, *Indian Miniature Painting*, Bombay, n.d., figs. 6 and 7, (in colour).

[19] Karl Khandalavala, "A Gita Govinda Series in the Prince of Wales Museum", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 4, 1953-54, pp. 1-18, Colour Pl. A, B, and Pls. I to IV. The date and tentative provenance suggested by Khandalavala in this article have been abandoned by him. He now regards the provenance as Uttar Pradesh and not Mewar as tentatively suggested and the date as A.D. 1525-1570 and not A.D. 1610. For a final solution fresh evidence must be awaited.

mind the date should be *c.* A.D. 1550 or once more providing the usual margin of error to A.D. 1525-1570.

The *Gita Govinda* which is an important theme in Rajasthani and Pahari painting, is a simple pastoral scene with Rādhā, Krishṇa and a messenger as *dramatis personae.* Its locale was fixed in a pastoral land and its subject matter and its hero conform to the spirit of the landscape. Kendu-biva in the terrain of Bengal where Jayadeva, the author of the *Gīta Govinda*, was born in the twelfth century, with its humid climate and luxuriant vegetation exercised a subtle influence on his imagination resulting in the verses throbbing with love heightened by ecstatic rapture. It was Jayadeva who brought to this land of Kālī and Śiva the charming and seductive personality of Krishṇa. Bred in a pastoral region, Krishṇa's frolicsome, sprightly and winning personality was eagerly sought after by the maids of Gokula who sang the glories of his charm. At times he stepped aside and played on his flute tender and melodious music, and his beloved *gopīs*, disturbed by his absence, went in search of him, appealing, imploring and accusing. Jayadeva's imagination gets free play in picturesque details, piquant tableaux and striking imageries. (Col. Pls. 22, 23 and Figs. 201-202).

As the themes of love and devotion came to the forefront with the spread of Vaishṇavism, artists had to ensure a suitable means of expression. The Western Indian or Gujarati school of painting with its rigid hieratic formulae could hardly cope with the situation[20] and a new mode of expression had to be devised which could combine the fervent devotion of the Vaishṇavas with a tender romantic appeal. The earliest effort to evolve such a technique, capable of interpreting love poems through appropriate colours, draughtsmanship, and landscape was perhaps made in the *Vasanta Vilāsa*[21] scroll in the Freer Gallery of Art, written at Ahmedabad in A.D. 1451. The *Bālagopāla Stuti*[22] (Fig. 97) gave a further fillip to the Krishṇa theme. When in the first half of the sixteenth century the new technique in painting was accepted as one of the recognized modes of expression, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta Govinda* received due recognition as proper themes for illustration.

The following outstanding characteristics may be noted:

1. The style shows close affinity with the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group though there are points of difference which may be noted. The female figure has long oval staring eyes with the white of the eyes very prominent, beak-like sharp nose, and narrow pointed double chin. But it should be observed that in the *Gīta Govinda* illustrations the forehead is more rounded than in other sets of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group and the face more full. The waist is narrow and the breasts are pointed and one does not intersect the other. The angularities of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* are also toned down.

The male face has the same type of eye and the same type of nose as the female face. Curved moustaches and side whiskers are common to both manuscripts. In the treatment of the human face one misses the clear cut angularity of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*; the rounding

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[20] M. R. Majumdar, "A 15th Century *Gita Govinda* MS. with Gujarati Paintings". *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. VI, Pt. VI, May 1938, pp. 123-137.

[21] Norman Brown, *The Vasanta Vilāsa*, Connecticut, 1962.

[22] M. R. Majumdar, "Illustrated MSS. of Bilvamaṅgala's Bāla Gopāla-Stuti", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, Sept. 1947, pp. 33-61.

W. Norman Brown, "Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings from Western India", *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, Philadelphia, 1930, pp. 167-206.

line gives the face a plumpness which is not exactly romantic.

2. Architecture is reduced to a minimum. The dome of the pavilion is of a semi-circular type; rooms are filled with patterned cloth pelmets draped along the top of the room. Tassels are attached to the pelmets.

3. The landscape is no longer merely suggestive as in other illustrations of the *Chaura-pañchāśikā* group but provides an appropriate and convincing background to the love lyrics of Jayadeva. Trees, wherever they appear, are formalized, while the spray-like plants of different shapes and sizes with or without blossoms are frequently seen creating the effect of such vegetation. A point of importance to note is that some of the stylized trees have a regular circle of white star-like blossoms around the fringe of the crown of the tree (Colour Pls. 22



Pl. 22. Rādhā pining for the union with Kṛishṇa. Folio from the *Gīta Govinda*. Probably Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Pl. 23. Kāma shooting arrow at Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. Folio from the *Gita Govinda*. Probably Uttar Pradesh. *c*. A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

and 23). This is seen in the *Chaurapañchāśikā*[23] and also in the *Laur-Chandā* series of the Lahore Museum (Fig. 194) and is peculiar to some of the sets of the *kulāhdār* group. This verdant landscape is, when the text so demands, also represented separately. The outstanding feature of the landscape is a group of conventional trees and a variety of spray-like plants which cover the entire surface where peacocks and other birds are shown resting on the ground and on the trees or flying against the dark sky. In the foreground outside the border lie lotus pools with humming black bees. The peculiar green and white marks with double separating lines are seen on the lower border. We have already pointed out that a similar

[23] *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. by Leigh Ashton, London, 1949, Pl. 81, fig. 396 (bottom).

design appears in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations establishing the close connection with each other of these sets of the *kulāhdār* group and indicating the same provenance.

In the *Chaurapañchāśikā* (Colour Pl. 20 and Figs. 186-187) and the Vijayendra Sūri *Rāgamālā* (Fig. 198) a strip of curly cloud cutting one corner of the picture, is seen and is rimmed by a black line following the curly formation of the cloud strip. However, in the *Gīta Govinda* series (Colour Pls. 22 and 23) a strip of curly cloud extends along the entire top of the miniature and so also in some examples of the Vijayendra Sūri *Rāgamālā* (Fig. 196).

4. The costume, both male and female is the same as in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings. In the male costume the *kulāhdār* trellised turban and *chākdār jāma* are prominent. The female costume as well follows its counterpart in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, but the *cholī* is short unlike the long *cholī* of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. The women wear *ghāghrā* (skirt) frequently made of check patterned material, while tucked in front of the skirt hangs a long *paṭkā* (sash), the lower end of which stands out prominently at a sharp angle (whether the figure is standing or seated) as though it had stiffening in it. But this is only a mannerism. The transparent *oḍhanī* worn by the women stands out behind the head balloon-like, while its tasselled ends stand out at sharp angles from the body, as if the *oḍhanī* also had stiffening in it.

5. Apart from the questions pertaining to the provenance and date, the series is characterized by that same freshness and charm which pervades the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of manuscript illustrations. The emphasis in the *Gīta Govinda* series is on trees, creepers, flowers and birds, shady bowers and the season of spring, when nature is delightful and Kāma ranges through forests (Colour Pl. 23), groves and gardens armed with his traditional flowery bow, the shaft which if loosened awakens love in the heart of every lass and lad. Kṛishṇa, Rādhā and the *gopīs*, all follow a set physical pattern, obviously derived from an earlier prototype. They are all somewhat short and buxom creatures with plump faces and not very romantic in appearance. Nevertheless it does not seem to matter. There is no doubt that the artist has infused his creations with the spirit of Jayadeva's immortal poem in which nature provides an appropriate background for the great drama of the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. The manner in which the rather formal trees are woven into a pattern with the delicate meandering creepers, in order to maintain constantly the atmosphere of an idyllic fairy woodland, is a unique feature of the series. This experiment of the landscape serving as a background for love scenes continued in the seventeenth century, and even in the eighteenth century. In the hands of Kangra painters landscape in its varying mood formed a necessary adjunct in all *Gīta Govinda* illustrations.

To the limited number of the paintings of the *kulāhdār* group may be added a cosmological chart on cloth;[24] a *Rāgamālā* miniature of Bhairavī Rāgiṇī in the collection of J. C. French and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London,[25] an illustrated copy of the *Pārśvanātha Vivāhalū* in the Boston Museum[26] dated A.D. 1576; and a miniature depicting Jayadeva and other poets,[27] which in its format and style comes near to the *Laur-Chandā* series in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The present ownership of the painting depicting Jayadeva and other poets is not known.

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24 Karl Khandalavala, Motichandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, New Delhi, 1960, p. 23, figs. 14–17.

25 *The Burlington Magazine*, Feb. 1948, fig. 17, opp. p. 41.

26 W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, Connecticut, Pls. 7-8.

27 Khandalavala and others, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

In the Jain cosmological chart, which depicts various constituents of Jain mythical geography, gods, goddesses, animals and birds, the male figures are shown wearing *kulāhdār*-turbans, and the physical type is comparable with a similar type in the *Pārśvanātha Vivāhalū* which has its own importance in so far as it is dated A.D. 1576. This date establishes that away from the Imperial court in some provincial city the older fashions of the Lodī period lingered on and this factor has also to be borne in mind while dealing with the controversial problem of the date of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

The nomenclature 'Sultanate Painting' according to Khandalavala requires to be restricted in its connotation. It is best applicable to.

(*a*) the late fifteenth century illustrated Persian classics in a mixed bourgeois style such as the *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrav, the *Sikandar Nāma*, the *Shāh Nāma* and the *Hamza Nāma*, all illustrated herein.

(*b*) The early sixteenth century painting at Mandu namely, the *Ni'mat Nāma* and *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* are based largely on the Turkoman style. The writer of the latter work also prepared a Persian translation called *'Ajā'ib-us-Sanati* of the Arabic work *Hayāt-i-bani Mūsa* and it contained many quaint illustrations of machines. It was written in Hijri 914=A.D. 1508 at Mandu.[28] Hence we can date the *Ni'mat Nāma* and *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* to the first decade of the fifteenth century with reasonable certainty. The *Būstan* of the National Museum, New Delhi, is excluded having in all probability been painted in Persia and only presented to Sultān Nāsir Shāh.

(*c*) A superior style with mixed Persian, Turkish and Indian influences as seen in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* and to some extent also in the Rylands Library *Laur-Chandā.*

The term 'Sultanate Painting' is, however, not appropriate for the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516, the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540, the *Laur-Chandā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan and the *Mirgāvat* of the same institution which all belong to a different cultural and emotional inspiration. They are basically a continuation of the later Western Indian or Gujarati tradition, though modified by the adoption of contemporary costumes and certain other features and invigorated by a new and more expansive approach to the art of manuscript illustration. In a sense even the Devasano Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* could be termed 'Sultanate Painting' and more so than the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* or *Mahāpurāṇa.* Hence the need for a rational application of this term which Basil Gray has described as a 'fashionable' nomenclature perhaps to emphasize its indiscriminate use.

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[28] Abdulla Chaghatai, *Painting During the Sultanate Period*, p. 28.

## CHAPTER V

# ILLUSTRATED AVADHĪ MANUSCRIPTS

The end of the fourteenth century witnesses a new trend in Hindi literature. After the first fury of the Islamic onslaught had subsided there started an era of understanding and reconciliation between Hinduism and Islam wherein the Sūfī saints played an important role. They and their disciples realized that if their message was to be more effective among the common people it had to be in the language of the people and not Persian, the language of the elite. Consequently, a new form of expression in Avadhī, a dialect of Hindi, was evolved. It was based on the Persian *Mat͟hnawis* in which the story is not divided into chapters but is continuous. The *Mat͟hnawi* which begins with the praise of God, the Prophet and the ruling King, is followed by the story which is full of descriptions of the city, palaces, aspects of social life, love episodes, fighting etc. and has a mystic strain. When this form of writing started, is not known, though it is evident that by the closing years of the fourteenth century the work entitled *Chandāyana* or *Laur-Chandā*, an extensive narrative poem in Avadhī by Mullā Dāūd became popular.

The romance of Laurak and Chandā is a popular theme in the folk ballads of eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Chhattisgarh. The theme had been dealt with in Bengali and Deccani Hindi also. Mullā Dāūd composed a narrative poem based on the romance in Avadhī in A.H. 779 (A.D. 1377-78) or A.H. 781 (A.D. 1379-80) under the patronage of Jauna Shāh, Khān-i-Jahān, the Dewān of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq of Delhi. The Maulānā hailed from Dalmau, situated at a distance of sixty-one miles from Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. He was a disciple of the Sūfī saint Jainuddin. Badāūni, the well known historian of the Akbar period, speaks highly of Maulānā Dāūd and his poetry.[1]

But unfortunately the romance seems to have lost its poetic and mystic appeal in the seventeenth century due perhaps to the increasing popularity of Jāisī's *Padmāvat*. Anyway the *Chandāyana* remained as a lost and forgotten piece of literature till Samarendranath Gupta pointed out the existence of twenty-four illustrations of *Laur-Chandā*[2] with the text written in Persian script in the Lahore Museum (Figs. 188-195). Due to the division of the exhibits of the Lahore Museum after the partition, some of these have come to Chandigarh Museum. Another set of six miniatures in the Western Indian or Gujarati style with the text in

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[1] Badāūni's *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. I, tr. and ed. by George S. A. Ranking, Calcutta, 1898, p. 333.

[2] S. N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 131.
Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 49-50.

Persian is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan[3] (Colour Pl. 10 and Figs. 99, 100) and was found by Dr. P. L. Gupta to be a part of the romance of *Laur-Chandā*. One discovery led to another. Prof. Hasan Askari discovered fragments of a manuscript of *Chandāyana*, while Mr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Muslim Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, recognized in sixty-eight illustrated folios the text of the *Chandāyana* and *Maināsat*, which folios were subsequently acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum (Colour Pl. 24 and Figs. 156-175). It was later on discovered that one folio from *Maināsat*, an addendum of *Laur-Chandā*, is now in the National Museum. There is one in the Hoffer Collection, eleven in the Boman Behram Collection and some with Mr. D. Guzdar of Bombay. These fragments whetted the curiosity of Dr. P. L. Gupta who continued his search for the recovery of the *Chandāyana*. He finally traced an incomplete manuscript in the Rylands Library, Manchester.[4] With the help of all the available material Dr. Gupta has edited the text which though incomplete gives a fair idea of the story and the poetic accomplishments of Dāūd.[5]

On the basis of the material available the contents of the *Laur-Chandā* or *Chandāyana* may be summarized as follows:

The opening verses are devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet Muhammad, the four Caliphs, the author's preceptor and the author's patron Khān-i-Jahān. This is followed by the description of the town of Govar, its residents, the King and his court.

It is related that to one of the numerous queens of Sahadeva, a daughter named Chandā was born. As she grew up the fame of her beauty spread. While yet a child she was betrothed to Bāvan, son of one Rāo Jīta. Sahadeva had his doubts about the match but the marriage was performed with great fanfare.

However, after the puberty when Chandā went to her husband, she found to her utter disgust that he was blind in one eye and also lacked manhood. She began lamenting her fate. There her sister-in-law and mother-in-law tried to console her. She, however, sent a message to her father asking him to send her brother to take her back. He acceded to her request. Back with her parents Chandā informed her friends about her plight. One day while she was standing on the balcony of her house, a Bājir (Vajrayānī Yogī) who was passing nearby, dazzled by her beauty, swooned. After gaining consciousness he gave a different story to the enquiring crowd which had gathered.

The Bājir moved from the city of Govar to the city of one Rai Rūpchand. One night Rūpchand heard him singing a song of separation. When questioned the Bājir related to Rūpchand that he was reduced to this plight on account of Chandā's beauty. Rūpchand in order to capture Chandā marched with his army to Govar. Poor Sahadeva's envoys tried to pacify him but he would not agree to peace without Chandā.

In the ensuing battle, finding himself pitted against a powerful enemy, Sahadeva sought the help of Laurak. Laurak after seeking his guru Ajayī's help in the technique of warfare joined the forces of Sahadeva and routed Rūpchand's army. There was great rejoicing and Laurak, the hero of the battle, was taken round the city on an elephant.

At that time Chandā chanced to see Laurak and fell in love with him at once. On the

3 Rai Krishnadasa, "An Illustrated Avadhī MS. of Laur-Chandā in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 1-2, p. 70, Pl. XVII, figs. 1-4 and Colour Pl. E.

4 Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra, Pramod Chandra and P. L. Gupta, "A New Document of Indian Painting", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, Oct. 1961, pp. 45-54.

5 Maulānā Dāūd, *Chandāyana*, (Hindi), ed. by Parameshwari Lal Gupta, Bombay, 1964.

advice of her maid-servant Biraspat she asked her father to arrange a feast. On that occasion Laurak saw her and fell in love with her.

On returning to his home he became lovesick. Biraspat, Chandā's maid, met his mother and desired to see the patient. A meeting was arranged and Biraspat told him to see Chandā at a temple in the garb of a Yogī. He did as advised and saw Chandā with her friends at the temple, and then fainted. She, however, without recognizing Laurak returned home. There Biraspat informed her of the true identity of the Yogī. Chandā at once despatched a messenger to Laurak to persuade him to abandon the garb of a Yogī, which he did. Soon he returned home but left it to wander in the forest lamenting his separation from Chandā. Hearing of his condition Chandā invited Laurak to her palace. Led by Biraspat he sought entry by means of a hooked rope which he threw up to scale the wall. Chandā, however, out of sheer fun threw back the rope. This she did thrice to tease her lover. At last realizing that the game had lasted too long, Chandā received one end of the rope, tied it to the balcony and began simulating sleep. Laurak scaling the rope entered Chandā's apartment, awakened her from the feigned sleep and made love to her. In the morning she hid him under her bed. The next day while slipping out of the palace he was seen by the gatekeepers and thus Chandā's parents came to know about her rendezvous. The news spread in the town. Laurak's wife Mainā suspected her husband's loyalty. There was an open quarrel, but Laurak's mother Kholin intervened and pacified her.

Sometime later, on a festive day Chandā proceeded to the temple with her maidens. Mainā, Laurak's real wife, was also there. After exchanging hot words, they fought bitterly. When Laurak heard about the quarrel he ran to the temple and separated the rivals.

Mainā, after returning home, sent a florist to Chandā's mother complaining about her daughter's behaviour. Chandā then realized the gravity of the situation and advised her lover to take her to some distant land. On an agreed plan the lovers left the town one night. On the way he met and pacified his irate brother Kaṅvarū. Proceeding further they reached the Gaṅgā and after befooling the ferry-man crossed the river.

Their troubles, however, were just beginning. Bāvan, Chandā's husband, hearing the news of the elopement followed them across the Gaṅgā. He tried to shoot Laurak but the latter escaped. Bāvan accepting his defeat turned back and the lovers marched on. On the way Laurak met some thugs. In the ensuing fight he cut off the hands of the main culprit, who lodged a complaint against him with Rāo Karaṅkā. Laurak, however, managed to convince the Rāo of his conduct and received as a gift a planquin and a horse.

While the lovers stayed in a Brahmin's house, a serpent attracted to the flower strewn bed bit Chandā, who lost consciousness, but a snake-charmer managed to revive her.

Proceeding further Laurak and Chandā met with several adventures. In a thick forest while encamping under a tree Chandā was again bitten by a snake and lost consciousness. Laurak lamented bitterly his fate but a poison doctor again managed to cure her.

Leaving the forest the pair reached a town. There Laurak left Chandā in a temple and went to the market to buy food. In his absence a magician Yogī came to the temple and wove some charm over Chandā. In consequence she lost her memory and went after the Yogī. When Laurak came back he found her missing. While searching for her whereabouts he reached a city where he heard that a certain Yogī with a woman had just left the place. Following the clue Laurak caught the Yogī, but he claimed Chandā as his wife. The case,

perhaps, went to the King and Laurak won it, but one can not be sure on this point as the relevant pages concerning the incident are missing from the manuscript.

After meeting all kinds of difficulties and surmounting them the lovers reached the vicinity of Hardīpāṭan. Rai Chhetam, the ruler who had come out for hunting saw the visitors and sent a messenger to make enquiry about them. When the king knew all about Laurak he welcomed the couple and made all arrangements for their comfortable stay there.

At Govar the wife of Laurak waited anxiously for his return. One day when she heard about the arrival of a caravan in the town, she sent for Sirjan, the caravan master, expressed to him her longings for Laurak in the form of a *Bārāmāsā*[6] and requested him to carry her message to Laurak staying at Hardīpāṭan and persuade him to come back to Govar.

Sirjan after reaching Hardīpāṭan delivered Mainā's message to Laurak who at once decided to leave for Govar though Chandā did not like the idea. However, brushing her aside Laurak returned to Govar with presents from Rai Chhetam. Not knowing who he was the people of Govar became panicky. Laurak, however, sent a message to Mainā and managed to call her to the camp to test her chastity. After that he went home to meet his mother who received him and Chandā with open arms. There he also learnt that in his absence Chandā's husband Bāvan had visited the town and quarrelled with Mainā. Ajayī, his guru, then came to their rescue. Makar had also come with an army and killed Laurak's brother Kaṅvarū. As the further pages of the *Chandāyana* are missing it is not possible to complete the story.

On account of its popularity the illustrating of the romance of *Laur-Chandā* was taken up at an early date, though, when this actually started, it is difficult to say. However, on the basis of the four leaves from an illustrated copy of the *Laur-Chandā* in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, already discussed, it is apparent that by *c.* A.D. 1500 the romance was being illustrated. The discovery of sixty-eight illustrated folios (64 of the *Chandāyana* and 4 of the *Maināsat*, apparently an appendix of the *Chandāyana*), however, has brought to the fore certain problems of Indian art history. In this series we are confronted not with a folk or bourgeois production but with an accomplished art which had already undergone some process of evolution. At first sight its connection with the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of Agra area dated A.D. 1516 and the Jain *Mahāpurāṇa* of Delhi dated A.D. 1540 is obvious so far as the ethnic types, certain details of the costumes and landscape are concerned. However, both in spirit and form the *Chandāyana* series is of a different order. It is influenced by Shirāz or Turkoman painting of *c.* A.D. 1500 but subjected to a process of Indianisation in style. Apart from the technical achievements of this *Chandāyana* series discussed in the following pages, the overall effect of these miniatures is one of great beauty of colour, delicate brush work, richness of arabesques whether in gold, black or red, sensitive draughtsmanship, and lightness of atmospheric effects. The following features of the series may be noted:

1. Even though the date of the manuscript is controversial and we ourselves are not in agreement on this question, yet, we are agreed that it represents a pre-Mughal type of painting in northern India, even if done during the Mughal period. Moti Chandra places the manuscript to *c.* A.D. 1525, while Khandalavala prefers to allow a margin of

[6] It is the presence of this *Bārāmāsā* that led Basil Gray to suggest that the Lahore Museum miniatures belonged to a *Bārāmāsā* series. See *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1947, p. 109.



Pl. 24. Chandā in a garden. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. c. A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

error and suggests A.D. 1525 to 1570,[7] pending solution of the problem of the *chākdār jāma*, discussed earlier.

2. The manuscript is also of high importance because it is the only known manuscript of the pre-Mughal type, excluding the highly Persianised *Ni'mat Nāma*, which can be regarded as the product of a court atelier or of the atelier of a great court noble. The Rylands Library manuscript may be also the product of a court atelier as it is somewhat similar to the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* series, though not of the same high quality. The *Ni'mat Nāma* datable to *c.* A.D. 1500 was also painted at the Sultanate court of Mandu, but that is a manuscript in which the Shirāz or so called Turkoman school of Persia completely dominates the Indian elements. The remaining manuscripts of the pre-Mughal type namely, the *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrav, the *Sikandar Nāma*, the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan *Shāh Nāma* and the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* are all in the nature of bourgeois art.[8]

3. Many Persian elements are discernable in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*, but despite this fact, it is clearly a manuscript in which the foreign influence has to a very considerable extent been Indianised. Thus it represents an individual style fostered probably at some court in northern India and we feel that Jaunpur is the most likely source though we cannot be certain. This style, however, may not have been widespread. The Persian influence is very marked in the tile pattern and equally so in the Chinese type foliated clouds and the Chinese ribbon-like clouds frequently interspersed with rosettes. Such cloud forms are peculiarly characteristic of Persian painting of the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. Persian influence also accounts for the exquisitely drawn arabesques which sometimes cover the whole composition. Tree forms which fan out into three or four branches all springing from the top of the tree trunk, and backgrounds closely covered with floral tufts or short strokes of colour to form a pattern also proclaim a Persian heritage. But the compositional features are not derived from Persian art and a very common feature of the manuscript is the division of the picture space into two panels, while at times there are more than two. There are also miniatures covering the whole picture space without any panel-wise division.

4. Both the male and female types are definitely Indian in character. The men have a receding forehead, short pointed nose, fish-shaped eyes with slightly protruding end, and moustache and whiskers. A thin black colour-wash represents the beard. The complexion is from fair to brown, though yellow, derived from the Western Indian or Gujarati school, is frequently used.

The female facial types show their derivation from Western Indian or Gujarati painting, save that the farther projecting eye is absent. There is also some change in the facial appearance as the large staring eyes are considerably modified. The male types are also derived from Western Indian or Gujarati painting though they are more carefully finished. They may also be compared with the male facial types in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516.

5. The surface is divided into one to three or even more panels. Their backgrounds are multicoloured namely, pink, green, grey, mauve and occasionally yellow. It is remark-

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7 Though Khandalavala feels that the date of the MS. ought on stylistic grounds to be between A.D. 1525 and A.D. 1550, he has extended the possible period to A.D. 1570 because of the presence of the *chākdār jāma*.

8 Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra "Three New Documents of Indian Painting", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 7, 1959-62, pp. 27-31.

able that the lacquer red which is the favourite background colour in the developed style of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 is conspicuous by its absence. This is no doubt due to the provincial Persian influence in the matter of tonality and colour. The painter, however, did not like a plain background and he invariably tried to enrich it with patterns. A favourite motif is tufts of grass painted in gold, while a second motif is small flowering plants in which gold, green and carmine are usually employed, and yet a third motif used for decorating the background is the "comma" pattern in gold covering the whole background. The "comma" pattern is sometimes reduced to flakes of gold. The painter was very fond of blue and pink tiles which not only decorate the buildings and tile interior of the apartments but also serve as dividing bands in the panels. This fondness for tile decoration is again due to the influence of Persian painting.

A recurring motif in the lower panel is pillared and cusped arches frequently coloured yellow and painted with arabesques all over. In these lower panels also sometimes appear human figures, a peacock with its tail spread out, pitchers on stands and *surāhīs*. (Fig. 162).

6. The trees are usually of the indigenous types sometimes with Shirāz or Turkoman influence, the trunks being pink, yellow, brown, blue, red or terracotta. This Persian influence is particularly seen in the type where the foliage rests on three or four branches spreading out from the top of the trunk which is either straight or curved (Figs. 165, 171 and 173). Its mass of foliage, round or ovaloid or heart-shaped, is usually seen thickly populated with birds. The ground of the foliage is painted in different shades of green and also picked out in red, the tendrils being often represented with flakes of red. Flowers are represented by rosettes, white dots, and flakes of gold. The type of tree with curved trunk surmounted by a single mass of heart-shaped foliage (Fig. 171) is also to be seen in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Fig. 200). It may well have been borrowed from some manuscript like the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* and not direct from a Persian source.

The sky occupies almost the whole top portion of the composition. The clouds on an ultramarine surface display a variety of forms, the most prominent being the Chinese ribbon-like clouds ringed at intervals with rosettes. The heavier foliated Chinese cloud is also present. The deeper shades of blue represent the tonality of the sky and also model the cloud forms whose effectiveness is enhanced by golden streaks of lightning. Floral scrolls and arabesques along with the Chinese ribbon-like clouds (a motif adopted from Persian painting, carpets and textiles) also cover the sky, imparting to it a very decorative effect.

The narrative is contained generally in two horizontal panels separated from one another by borders decorated with cartouches, scrolls, brick-pattern and floral motifs, some of which seem to have survived in the Malwa idiom of Rajasthani painting.

7. There is a tendency to treat animals and birds in a realistic manner. Bulls are sleek and short horned, and small birds on the trees, and mallards and cranes show a certain degree of realism which is pleasing. The cattle frequently have a branding mark on their quarters (Fig. 161).

8. The architecture though colourful is strictly limited to a pavilion with painted domes, turrets, merlons, eaves and pillars, which are decorated with arabesques and scrolls. The domes are somewhat in the Lodī style. A decorative hanging or *bandanwār* is the usual decoration of a room. In certain cases in the foreground there appears an arcade decorated with tiles. Under the arches appear water pots on stands as already observed.

9. The male costume consists of a *kulāhdār* latticed *pagrī* which is a distinctive feature of the male costume in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings, long and short *jāmas*, both of the *chākdār* style and the round *(gherdār)* style, pyjamas *(salwār)*, *kamarband*, tunic, *dupaṭṭā*, and shoes. The *dhotī* is also worn instead of *salwār* and *jāma*. The *kulāhdār* turban is made up of a narrow length of cloth wound over a domed skull cap in such a way that interspaces are left giving a trellised effect. The *jāmas* are of several types; either round or with straight ends or *chākdār* type with four pointed and six pointed ends. All these *jāmas* are both long and short. The pyjamas are commonly of the *salwār* type and the *kamarband* is usually narrow. Brahmans and others wear a *pagrī* patterned or plain, fairly broad *dupaṭṭā* crossed over the chest, and *paṭkā* tucked in the folds of a *dhotī*.

The women wear a *shalwār* or *ghāghra* made of coloured material, *oḍhanī* made of transparent material, *cholī* and *paṭkā*, one end of which tucked into the *sārī* hangs loosely. The *oḍhanī* fans out stiffly from the body. The tight sleeved *cholī* covering the pointed breasts is made of plain or patterned material.

10. Another early convention is seen in the manner in which the figures are shown with the body resting on the farther end of a cushion or carpet, a feature which is continued in Rajasthani painting of the Malwa idiom of a later period.

11. The colour schemes employed in the *Laur-Chandā* are altogether different from the conventional predominance of red, blue and gold in the Western Indian or Gujarati illustrated manuscripts. The colour schemes are also quite different from the strong warm colouring of sets such as the *Chaurapañchāśikā* or the Lahore Museum *Laur-Chandā*. Here we have an entirely different tonality in which pinks, yellows, greens, pale blues, mauves are pleasantly blended together. The colour scheme is never hot, but at the same time the palette is never insipid. Moreover, the tonality is always clean and clear and there is no trace of heaviness or muddiness. Gold is used with great delicacy and to much effect, particularly in decorative details and in arabesque patterns which cover backgrounds, costumes, domes, cushions, utensils, architecture and carpets. The painters of this manuscript seem to have delighted in painting arabesque patterns with unsurpassed skill on many parts of the picture space, but this mannerism is pursued with such fineness of brush work that it never becomes tiresome.[9]

12. The text appearing on the reverse of the miniatures displays calligraphy of a high order. The painters of our *Laur-Chandā* were competent Indian artists familiar with manuscripts such as the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1465 and also with the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century provincial Persian manuscript illustrations and had experimented with the fusion of Indian and Persian Turkoman elements, thus creating a distinctive style, though it was probably not widespread. If it should be a pre-Mughal product it represents the most refined achievement of pre-Mughal painting. It has a delicacy which neither the Manchester *Laur-Chandā* nor the *Ni'mat Nāma* possess. By a subtle combination of colour schemes, architecture, textiles and elements of Persian painting, the painter has obtained a delightful effect which is further heightened by landscape elements which provide an appropriate background to the incidents in the story. The dramatic treatment of the incidents of the tale is achieved by hand gestures and by the creation of a type of vigorous

[9] See Colour Plate in "Three New Documents of Indian Painting", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 7.

men and graceful women. All these newly evolved features give a fresh direction to Indian painting.

This is not to say that everything in this new style is above reproach. It is apparent that despite the brilliance of the style, the motifs, the poses, the figures and costumes are almost static. At times incidents from the same topic and the same decorative motifs are repeated endlessly resulting in monotony. The decorative motifs are also limited in character and the ethnic types appear without variation. But inspite of all these shortcomings the *Laur-Chandā* series shows the emergence of a new style in Indian painting, whether it be a temporary phase at a single Sultanate court, or whether it exercised some influence on future developments.

Unfortunately, not much material has survived to show the development of the new style. Therefore, the discovery by P. L. Gupta of an incomplete illustrated manuscript of the *Laur-Chandā* in the collection of the Rylands Library, Manchester (Colour Pl. 25 and Figs. 176, 177) datable to *c.* A.D. 1550-1575 is of great importance. It continues the tradition of the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā,* though in a somewhat diluted form.[10] Though the Rylands manuscript is not as early as the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā,* nor of such fine quality, yet it is undoubtedly a manuscript of major importance.

With regard to the dates of these two manuscripts, the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* could be separated from the Rylands Library copy by about twenty-five years at the utmost. We feel the Rylands manuscript may not be earlier than A.D. 1550 in which case the Prince of Wales Museum manuscript could be placed between A.D. 1525-1550, a date about which there is a difference of opinion among scholars. The Persian influence is seen in both, being more marked in the Prince of Wales Museum version. In the Rylands Library *Laur-Chandā* there is a clear development towards certain mannerisms which we have come to associate with Rajasthani painting and particularly the so-called Malwa idiom thereof. But we remain conscious of the fact that all our suggestions as to the period of various undated manuscripts in the present treatise are but tentative and may have to be revised in the light of further discovery.

The following characteristics of the Rylands manuscript illustrations may be noted:

1. Both the male and female figures are clearly based on the types represented in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* illustrations, with the following minor differences. The angularity of the nose and the chin is slightly toned down; the yellow and sandal-wood complexions often used in the Prince of Wales Museum manuscript are almost eliminated and a uniform reddish tone is used (Colour Pl. 25). The moustache is not the flaring or twirled type but is a small pencilled one. The slight exaggeration of the chest, a remnant of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition, almost disappears and the male type approximates more to the Rajasthani type. In the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* the side whiskers are simple, but in the Rylands manuscript the long side whiskers are usually in a pattern of two separated tufts.

The female figures in the Rylands manuscript also show some points of development. The squattish body with double chin, sharp nose, plumpish face and heavy breasts in the

[10] Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra, Pramod Chandra and P. L. Gupta, "A New Document of Indian Painting", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, pp. 45-54.
Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India*, illustration on p. 69 where it is ascribed to Malwa and dated *c.* 1530.



P. 25. Upper register: Laurak leaves the temple. Lower register: Biraspat gives Chandā information about him. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1550-1575. Rylands Library, Manchester.

Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* show the survival of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition. In the Rylands manuscript the female figure, though maintaining a close relationship with the type in the Prince of Wales Museum manuscript shows some points of departure. It converges towards the early Rajasthani types. The treatment of the hair is often in wiry strands as in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā.*

2. The vertical composition is often confined to a single frame, though the story is also narrated in two compartments. The background is either monochrome or bichrome with a mound suggesting the rudimentary idea of perspective (Fig. 176). The monotony of the plain surface is often relieved by the flowering shrubs (Fig. 177), "commas," and tufts of wiry grass. The Persian origin of these motifs is evident though not so exquisite and finished as in Persian painting. The dramatic treatment of the sky decorated with Chinese clouds and arabesques seen in the Prince of Wales Museum manuscript is absent in the Manchester manuscript. The sky is indicated by either plain monochrome gold or blue, while a cloudy sky is depicted by blue and white lines as in early Rajasthani painting. The horizon is often fringed with a shrub-like pattern. The treatment of landscape also conforms to the similar treatment of nature in early Rajasthani painting. The foliage of trees is stylized into an oval or round mass of leaves, and the tree trunks are knotted with three or four forked branches, the ends of which have oval-shaped tufts of foliage, a treatment reminiscent of the Turkoman style. The semi-circular hillocks are either dotted with flowering shrubs, or else are fringed with the "comma" pattern derived from Persian Shirāz or Turkoman painting where it appears at an early date. The water in ponds and rivers is treated in the basket pattern. The cattle resemble those in the Western Indian or Gujarati miniatures, though certain animals are treated with a real feeling for movement. Elephants are almost lanky in appearance and are peculiarly drawn and remind us of their prototypes from Persian paintings. It is not easy to regard such elephants as the original work of an Indian artist. They appear to have been based on elephants in Persian paintings of the Turkoman school of the late fifteenth century which the Indian artist had seen. Birds are treated both realistically and conventionally.

3. Architecture is reduced to a minimum. In most cases it is a kiosk or pavilion with a squat, gaily painted dome. In some places the simple pavilion has a second storey provided with a balcony and curtained side windows. A characteristic feature of the architecture is pink brick-work with red joints. Another characteristic feature is wall brackets with tassels.

4. The male costume consists of a turban, *jāma,* trousers, *paṭkā, dhotī, chādar* etc. The turban is of two types—trellised *kulāhdār* turban and the flat turban greatly resembling the type seen in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of A.D. 1465 (Figs. 38 and 40). The *chākdār jāma* is both short and long. The short type though not commonly seen in Mughal painting does appear in the *Hamza Nāma* illustrations as already stated. The *jāmas* have often a series of tie knots or decorative fringe. The *paṭkās* both short and long are narrow.

The female costume consists of a skirt of ample girth made of coloured and patterned material and an *oḍhanī* made of transparent plain or patterned stuff. The triangular ends of the *oḍhanī* stand out stiffly. The half sleeved *cholī* covers the breasts.

5. From the point of view of skill and elegance, the Manchester *Laur-Chandā* is of lesser merit than the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā,* though it has greater variety in its treatment. The composition is formal, the colours lack depth and the repetitive compositions,

as in the Prince of Wales Museum manuscript, are apt to be tiresome. But, inspite of all these short-comings the Manchester *Laur-Chandā* illustrations not only form an important document of Indian painting but also a veritable treasure house for the study of contemporary life and manners in all its varied phases.

The illustration of the *Laur-Chandā* was popular in the sixteenth century, for twenty four folios from another illustrated copy, formerly in the Lahore Museum and after partition divided between the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums exist (Figs. 188-195).[11] Though S. N. Gupta could not identify the manuscript to which the miniatures belonged, he surmised correctly that the miniatures were related to some love story in which the names of Laur, Mainā and Chandā occur frequently. He also dated them to the sixteenth century. Just as in the case of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, to which it is very closely related, the date of this manuscript is controversial. Whatever be the date of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* must also be approximately the date of this series and the provenance of both must also be the same. That the provenance is the northern belt from Delhi to Jaunpur is supported by the evidence of the two dated manuscripts of A.D. 1516 and 1540 from the Agra area and the Delhi area respectively. Our own preference is for Uttar Pradesh, probably Jaunpur area. The following characteristics may be noted:

1. The human figures closely approximate to those depicted in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings. The male type is distinguished by a longish face, *paḍol*-shaped eyes, pointed moustache, sharp nose and chin, the beard represented by a colour wash and rather awkward drawing of hands and feet. It is also significant to note that the exaggerated treatment of the chest shows the survival of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition though in a less pronounced manner. The female figure also resembles that in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* series. The women have squarish faces with small delicate nose and mouth and pointed chin. There is, however, a difference in the treatment of the eye. In the *Chaurapañchāśikā* it extends almost to the ear while in the present series it is *paḍol*-shaped and somewhat less in length. The treatment of the hands in various gestures is more expressive than in the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. The torso is full and the waist narrow.

2. In keeping with the traditional method of narrating the *Laur-Chandā* story the vertical composition is divided into two to four compartments, each of which carries a part of the story. In almost all the paintings there appears at top in an inset Mullā Dāūd the author of the *Laur-Chandā*, seated or standing, reading the Qurān or counting a rosary. This device we have already noticed in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516. The compartments have different coloured backgrounds and in each a part of the narrative is depicted. These panels are framed with plain or flowered bands or an arrow-head like pattern (Fig. 190). The wide floral bands (Figs. 189 and 190) decorating the foreground are suggestive of carpets. There is, moreover, an unusual pattern of intersecting lotus buds (Fig. 191) which is seen also in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* (Fig. 186). All these devices make the composition of the Lahore series look complicated, but this confusion disappears if one is thoroughly acquainted with the story. The colours are simple but used as effectively as in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* series.

3. The landscape though reduced to the minimum is interesting. The painter is very fond of representing night scenes in which on the dark background white dots represent the

[11] S. N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 131.

stars, a convention which makes its first appearance in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's *Laur-Chandā* illustrations (Fig. 99). The horizon is depicted by a rope-like white serpentine line. The palm tree (Figs. 193, 194) forms an essential element of the landscape. Tender plants with sprays laden with flowers (Figs. 192 and 193) and a type of decorative tree with its crown encircled with white star-like flowers (Fig. 194) are constantly seen. The latter type is a characteristic feature of several sets of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group namely, the *Chaurapañchāśikā* itself, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Gita Govinda* miniatures of the Prince of Wales Museum. The water is represented in basket pattern (Fig. 195) and associated with lotuses, fish and aquatic birds. Tanks are lined with a brick platform – a convention followed faithfully in the manuscripts of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group and later seen in the Malwa idiom of Rajasthani painting.

The birds, mostly crows (Fig. 189) and peacocks (Fig. 195) are treated realistically. Horses furnished with trappings and armour (Fig. 188) showing Persian influence are treated in a spirited manner. The device of depicting a dappled or piebald horse with a series of spots all over its body, first adopted in Gujarati Jain miniatures from Persian painting still persists herein.

There is hardly any architecture except a pavilion with a squat Lodī style dome, merlons and eaves. An arched doorway is suggestive of an entrance to a palace or a bedroom. Almost all the pavilions are furnished with *bandanwārs* or decorative fringes trimmed with beads and tassels which is a very common feature in sixteenth century painting. At times *chauris* are suspended from it (Figs. 190 and 191). The floor is furnished with carpets. In some rooms are seen beds, chests, ewers and water-pots as furnishings.

4. Men invariably wear a short or long *chākdār jāma* or a long *jāma* upto the ankles without slits. The *jāmas* often have decorative fringes on both sides and are made of plain muslin, while *kulāhdār* turbans, narrow looped *kamarbands* and trousers (*salwārs*) are also worn. This costume is typical of the *Laur-Chandā* group.

The women wear *oḍhanī*, short *cholī*, *ghāghrā* and *paṭkā*. The *oḍhanī* made of thin transparent muslin stands out behind the head and one end of it crosses the chest and stands out stiffly in the manner common to the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

5. Though the illustrations come within the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group and follow the same conventions and style, yet there is a definite attempt to enlarge the scope of the composition which results in the representation of a larger number of participants. An attempt is also made to bring together many episodes of the same incident, each episode being contained in a separate register in order to avoid confusion. The series is also distinguished for its sense of animation which avoids doll-like treatment of the figures. By the proper utilization of spaces, gestures and expressive movements, the composition and exposition become more convincing. The fine quality of draughtsmanship moving in curves, straight lines and angles, besides defining the body contours and costumes, gives a geometrical bias to the composition. The colours are simple but effectively applied. In short, though the illustrations may not fulfil all the conditions of a classical art yet they show the continuity of a tradition. Here is a very marked advance on the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of A.D. 1516 or the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540. How far it resulted in the fully developed Rajasthani school is again controversial but it may have played some part therein.

That the illustration of Avadhī romances was not confined to the *Laur-Chandā* only is

testified by an incomplete illustrated manuscript of the *Mirgāvat* in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, written by Qutban in 910 A.H. (A.D. 1504) in the reign of Hussain Shāh Sharqī who, though he had lost the kingdom of Jaunpur to Sikandar Lodī lived as a refugee at Kahalgaon in Bengal.[12]

The work opens with the praise of the Prophet and the Four Caliphs. Then the poet praises his teacher Makhadūm Shaikh Badhan. It is followed by praise of Hussain Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur.[13] Then follows the story:

There was a Rājā who possessed everything except a son. At last his prayers and charities bore fruit and a son was born to him. It was predicted by the soothsayers that he would be a great man. At the tender age of ten the prince had become a pandit and an expert hunter. One day while he was going out on a hunting expedition accompanied by a hundred horsemen he saw a variegated doe, the like of which he had never seen in his life. He rushed on his horse to catch the doe at all cost. Reaching a solitary spot he almost forgot about his physical existence. Then he saw a lake in which the doe plunged in order to escape him. The prince, not to be outwitted got down from the horse and followed the doe in the lake but though he made a thorough search he could not find her. However, urged by love, he refused to accept defeat and unmindful of his discomfort, stayed on in that place waiting for the emergence of the doe from the lake.

In the meanwhile the followers of the prince made a search for him and found him by the lake-side. They got down from their horses and inquired about his health. At first the prince was reticent, but when pressed he informed them about the rainbow coloured doe who had transformed herself into a beautiful damsel. His followers persuaded him to return to his father, but he refused affirming that he would rather die than divert his love elsewhere. Thereat his followers sent his father a written report about the state of affairs. The Rājā rushed there, and wept at the condition of his son. When he learnt the story about the doe's disappearance in the water he dismissed the whole episode as a hallucination. He tried to wean the prince from his resolve, but the latter refused to return. He, however, requested his father to build a temple near the lake, which the king agreed to do. The King then returned to his capital after the completion of the temple, but his son stayed on by the lake.

Soon a seven storied structure with frescoes, which included the portrait of the doe, was completed near the lake. Seeing the portrait, the prince wept. One day he was visited by his wet-nurse who advised him how to gain his objective.

A year passed while the prince waited to meet his beloved. One day it so happened that he saw seven nymph-like damsels sporting in the lake. Among them the prince recognized his beloved. After their sport was over, in order not to be captured by the enchanting atmosphere of the place, the maidens after taking off their clothes prepared for flight, but as soon as they saw the prince advancing towards them they just vanished leaving him disconsolate.

After this incident when the distracted lover was bemoaning his fate the wet-nurse informed him that according to a Yogī the lady in the form of a doe was none other than

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[12] S. H. Askari, "Qutban's Mrigavat—A Unique MS. in Persian Script", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLI, pt. 4, 1955, p. 459.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 457.

Mirgāvat. Being of a religious nature she would come on Nirjala Ekādaśī to pay a visit to the temple and bathe in the lake and the prince was advised that at that time he should seize her magic clothes in order to win her hand. The prince acted as he was told. While the companions of Mirgāvat escaped with their clothes, she found her clothes missing. She ran back to the lake and from there reproached the prince standing on the bank. Thereat the prince professed his love for her. After he had presented her fine garment both became friends and entered the temple. The king hearing the news, came there and showered gifts on his son and daughter-in-law.

Mirgāvat passed the days happily with her husband, but she was always on the look out to get back her magic clothes in order to gain her freedom. One day the prince while proceeding to pay a visit to his father instructed his wet-nurse to be careful that Mirgāvat did not get back her magic clothes. The nurse, however, fell a victim to the charm of Mirgāvat, and while she was sent out on an errand Mirgāvat managed to get back her magic clothes. The nurse found her in the temple and was informed that though she loved the prince, for reasons of her own she had decided to leave him to test his love. The prince was also to be informed that Mirgāvat was the daughter of Rūpa Murār of Kāñchan Nagar.

After his return the prince hearing the news of the disappearance of his beloved was greatly upset. Assuming the garb of a Gorakhpanthi Jogī he set out in search of his beloved. Passing through many forests he reached a city whose ruler provided him with a Jaṅgama Jogī to accompany him. This Jogī took him to the seashore where he found a man buffeted by the waves, who told him about a demon. A fight ensued between the prince and the demon and when the prince was about to fall another demon appeared and both of them fell fighting. Later on the prince met a beautiful girl named Rūpman who was kidnapped and kept confined in a garden on a sea girt mountain by a demon who paid her a yearly visit. He recounted the story of his adventures to her. Rūpman's father inspite of protestations from the prince gave him his daughter in marriage. But his old longing again seized him and he set out once more in search of Mirgāvat.

In the course of his adventures the prince met a shepherd who promised to act as a guide. He, however, turned out to be a demon and the princely wanderer escaped with his life after wounding him. Then followed the episode of four pigeons who had transformed themselves into beautiful damsels. This he thought to be the magic of the shepherd-demon.

In the city of Kāñchanpur, Mirgāvat recounted her adventures to her attendant. In the meanwhile her father died, and among the mendicants who were invited to the feast held on that occasion the prince was one. He was afterwards recognized and united with Mirgāvat. While returning to his father with a caravan, he met Rūpman, and she and Mirgāvat both accompanied him to his father's place. There a rivalry ensued between the two women. After sometime during a lion hunt the prince fell from a mad elephant and died and his two wives performed *satī*.

The romantic story of *Mirgāvat,* a curious mixture of fairy tales, adventures and love episodes, gave to the painter abundant opportunity to deal with various aspects of the contemporary scene. Had the painter of the *Mirgāvat* been as accomplished as the painter of *Laur-Chandā,* we would have provided us with interesting sidelights on the social and cultural life of the people, but the artistic expression which he employs is laconic verging on folk art in which stress is laid on simplification. Anyway, the *Mirgāvat* illustrations indi-

cate the existence of a vigorous school of folk painting with probably Jaunpur as its centre.

As we have pointed out before, there is no unanimity of opinion about the dates and provenance of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, but in the *Mirgāvat* there is internal evidence which supports its origin in eastern Uttar Pradesh or Bihar. This is the use of the Kaithi script for writing the text. This script, a cursory variant of Nāgarī, was till recently being used by the Kāyasthas of Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh. There may be a divergence of opinion about the place of origin of the illustrated *Laur-Chandā* manuscripts which use the Persian script, so common all over northern India, but the provenance of an illustrated romance written in Kaithi script, is best, regarded as eastern Uttar Pradesh or Bihar.

The *Mṛgāvat* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, though incomplete, has 250 full page illustrations, each folio measuring about 18.4 × 17.4 cm. and the illustrations about 15.2 × 12.7 cm. (Colour Pl. 26 and Figs. 178-185). The illustrations must be later than A.D. 1504 when the romance was written but the question is how much later. Having regard to certain resemblances in some of the physical types of this manuscript and the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of



Pl. 26. Mirgāvat's toilet. Folio from the *Mirgāvat*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

A.D. 1516 it may be possible to contend that it is equally early. At the same time there are wide differences between the two manuscripts, and the *chākdār jāma* is constantly seen in the *Mirgāvat*. Some critics assign it to *circa* A.D. 1540 which is possible if the *chākdār jāma* was a Lodī costume in Uttar Pradesh and one which was continued in use after Lodī rule had been supplanted by the Mughals. Khandalavala assigns it to A.D. 1525-1570 to provide the usual margin of error which is necessary for any illustrated manuscript of the sixteenth century where the *chākdār jāma* makes its appearance. But the question of a final solution of the date will always depend on whether it is to be regarded as earlier or later than the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. The fact that it is in a folk style compared to the superior manuscripts of the *kulāhdār* group is a circumstance which must always be taken into consideration in dating any folk style manuscript. The following characteristics of the manuscript may be noted:

1. The composition is extremely simple. It occupies one or two panels. If there are two panels, each panel represents a part of the incident. The monochrome background uses dull red, green, yellow and brown, and its monotony is relieved by a liberal use of red blotches and at times by large flowers hanging down from the top. The characters appearing in the paintings vary from one to four and are aligned in a row, their stances and gestures indicating action and emotional stresses. The bands separating the panels are not decorative as in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*, but plain.

2. The body colour is either yellow or brown following the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition which survived in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. In draughtsmanship, angularity is favoured though curves are used to emphasize certain parts of the body. A remarkable feature is the large eye devoid of any expression and extending almost to the ear as in other manuscripts of the group. The drawing of hands and feet is weak though the effects of this weakness are considerably toned down by action. Usually the figures are of medium size, but royalty and men of position are comparatively taller. No doubt the illustrator intended to emphasize their importance. This method is common to many schools of Indian painting.

The female figure is more robustly treated than in other manuscripts of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. It, however, lacks the womanly grace of the Lahore *Laur-Chandā* and *Chaurapañchāśikā* types. The hair is braided and tasselled and a hairlock is seen hanging loose on the cheek. However, women having a tete-a-tete or in sportive attitudes express a *joie-de-vivre* which is a characteristic feature of folk art.

3. The costume of the male figures is characteristically of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. Men wear long *gherdār jāma,* long and short *chākdār jāma, kulāhdār* turban, *dupaṭṭā* and narrow *kamarband* to which usually a dagger is attached. Kings are shown wearing a *mukuṭa*. The *jāma* is made of plain or flowered material.

The female costume is almost the same as in the Palam *Mahāpurāṇa* dated A.D. 1540. Women wear an *oḍhanī* which usually encircles the coiffure and one end of which crosses the chest and hangs on one side as if stiffened. It, however, lacks the grace of the *oḍhanī* in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* and the Lahore *Laur-Chandā* illustrations. It should also be noted that the *oḍhanī* in the *Mirgāvat* is not made of thin transparent muslin but is usually made of some heavy patterned stuff. The decorative motifs employed are lines, dots, stars, rosettes, chains, fish-scales etc. The half-sleeved *cholī* and skirt are also made of heavy patterned material.

The ornaments are heavily decorated with pompons. The women wear a circular disc in one ear and the peg-like earring in the other ear. This peg-like earring is characteristic of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group as observed earlier. Its presence in this group may indicate the prevalent fashion in a particular part of the country which according to us is likely to be Uttar Pradesh.

4. The treatment of the horizon is extremely simple. The sky is at times indicated by a blue surface delimited by a white and black zig-zag line on which appear the sun and the moon. The landscape is more or less suggestive. Two types of trees are represented, one has sprays with flowers and the other is conventional. Plantain trees and shrubs are occasionally introduced. The water is treated in basket pattern and associated with fish and lotus flowers. At places it is represented by parallel meandering lines.

Animals are treated decoratively. The tiger and wolf retain their Western Indian characteristics and the camel is of a queer lanky type. The horses are treated realistically. It is significant to note that the elephant is no longer of the awkward type, following a provincial Persian tradition, as seen in the Manchester *Laur-Chandā* manuscript.

The architecture is simple mainly consisting of a pavilion with squat Lodi period domes and turrets, and bed-rooms.

5. It is evident from the available evidence that the *Mirgāvat* illustrations can be compared with the illustrations of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516, and the *Mahāpurāṇa* dated A.D. 1540. Not only are the ethnic types similar in these manuscripts but there are other similarities and at times the figures appearing in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* have counterparts in the *Mirgāvat*. For instance, in an illustration representing Mirgāvat and her lover Rājakumāra (Fig. 181) the figure of Mirgāvat is similar to that of the lady in blue skirt in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* (Colour Pl. 15). The comparison does not end here. The men and women in both the manuscripts wear rather similar costumes though in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* the *chākdār jāma* is absent. The figures affect the same poses, the compositional features and the modes of expression are similar and the use of pompons is a common feature to both. As a matter of fact, the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* dated A.D. 1516, the *Mahāpurāṇa* dated A.D. 1540, and the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan *Mirgāvat* belong to a class of manuscripts which were illustrated for middle class people who wished to possess them either for a religious purpose as in the case of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* and the *Mahāpurāṇa*, or to satisfy their romantic leanings and fondness for Avadhī poems as in the case of the *Mirgāvat*. Naturally, these middle class bibliophiles could not be expected to spend large sums of money and had to be content with employing mediocre or folk painters. Nevertheless such works prove that in the sixteenth century, after the Western Indian or Gujarati school had developed, a new variant and a new tradition grew up among the bourgeois classes of the Jains, Hindus and Muslims who patronized art by commissioning illustrated manuscripts. All the three manuscripts, namely, the *Āraṇyāka Parvan* of A.D. 1516, the *Mahāpurāṇa* of A.D. 1540 and the *Mirgāvat* are very extensively illustrated, each having over two hundred and fifty illustrations. This fact indicates that book illustration on a large scale was being practised even if it was a bourgeois type production for middle class people. The Sultanate courts themselves in all probability continued, for the most part, to admire only Persian book illustration, but the middle classes to whom Persian book production was largely unknown, evinced a new taste for book illustration and it is the growth of this new taste that brought the whole

*Chaurapañchāśikā* group into being. The date of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* namely, A.D. 1516 shows that this new development was earlier than the first decade of the sixteenth century and commenced in all probability in the closing years of the fifteenth century. There remains, however, a question which has not yet been properly answered. This question is whether there was any classical phase from which the manuscript illustrations of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*, the *Mahāpurāṇa* and the *Mirgāvat* were derived. Though it is not possible to express any definite opinion on this point the total absence of evidence of a classical phase prior to A.D. 1516, is significant.

CHPPTER VI

# THE LAST PHASE

How far the new traditions evolved by the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings continued in the Mughal period is a matter of conjecture, assuming that they continued as an archaic survival in some provinces almost till the beginning of the seventeenth century. Some writers feel that the school ended by *c.* A.D. 1550 or a little later. It may, however, be noted that the *Pārśvanātha Vivāhalū* is dated A.D. 1576.[1] But one thing is certain that with the coming into being of Akbar's great atelier the traditions evolved by the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group very soon lost their identity. How far the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group influenced Rajasthani painting is again controversial, but if it did, the influence was maintained only through broken down motifs.

A theory has been advanced that what was happening in the formative period of Mughal painting is obvious from the illustrations of a *Tūti Nāma*[2] in the Cleveland Museum of Arts (Figs. 203 and 204). But this is controversial as both Khandalavala and Basil Gray[3] regard it as a production not earlier than *c.* A.D. 1580 though Lee ascribes it to A.D. 1560-1568. The text is by Nakhshabī (d. 1350), a free translation into Persian from the Sanskrit *Śukasaptati* (Seventy Tales of a Parrot), and completed in A.D. 1330. The Cleveland manuscript currently comprises 341 folios with 211 illustrations. The majority of the folios are written in Naskh. The style in some miniatures is suggestive of motifs and even types seen in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. The style, however, is not uniform which may be due to experiments or its completion over varying periods of time. Though one may or may not agree with the suggested dating of the manuscript as *c.* A.D. 1560-1568, Moti Chandra feels that the miniatures are predominantly done in the early Akbar style of the *Hamza Nāma,* while Khandalavala thinks that they are either provincial works done at the end of the *Hamza Nāma* period and lacking the qualities of the *Hamza Nāma* and the brilliant Talisman panitings of the Raza Library, Rampur or are by artists not of the imperial atelier.

One feature of the *Tūti Nāma* illustrations as already observed is the survival of some

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1 W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, Connecticut, 1960, Pls. 7 and 8.

2 Sherman E. Lee and Pramod Chandra, "A Newly Discovered *Tūti-Nāmah* and the Continuity of the Indian Tradition of Manuscript Painting", *The Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1963, pp. 547-554. See Khandalavala's comments in "Some Problems of Mughal Painting", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 11, April 1962, pp. 9-13.

3 *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVIII, I, 1966, p. 100.

of the traits of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group in some miniatures. At the same time, under the influence of the developing Mughal tradition several ethnic types in the *Tūti Nāma* follow a new concept of human physiognomy. In the female figures, the survival is even greater than in male figures. In the treatment of the costumes and ornaments as well the older modes are present. In some miniatures though the *oḍhanī* is made of transparent muslin it loses some of its stiffened charm which had imparted to this mode of depiction an almost geometrical precision. The skirt is almost of the same type as in the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, and even the patterns such as rosettes, chequers and stars on the material from which it was made follow similar patterns as in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. The earrings—in one ear peg-shaped and in the other rosette-shaped—are similar to the earrings in the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group. This feature according to Khandalavala is an indication amongst others of its provincial character. Ornaments decorated with tassels and pompons show the continuity of tradition.

In the male costume while *chākdār jāmas* of all types are common, the *pagrī* is usually of the *aṭpaṭī* type except in one or two instances where a trellised *kulāhdār* turban is seen. The rare use of the *kulāhdār* turban shows that this turban which was once in general use in Lodī times was going out of vogue even in provincial centres during Mughal rule. Another view-point is that its presence indicates it was a provincial survival after it had gone out of vogue at the Mughal court if at all it had any vogue there. It is not seen in any of the surviving *Hamza Nāma* paintings which belong to the period A.D. 1567-1582 nor in the Talisman paintings of the Raza Library, Rampur, both painted in the imperial atelier.

The survival of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition, however, is the strongest in architecture and landscape. The flat treatment of architecture shows a curious mixture of the old and new. The gaily painted pavilion, with its squat striped dome, turrets, eaves and pillars, reminds us of similar pavilions in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*. Even the *bandanwār* or decorative fringe hanging from the ceiling, is a common feature to both. Another interesting survival is the treatment of the horizon and the clouds, which the *Tūti Nāma* illustrators may have adopted from illustrations such as those of the *Laur-Chandā* manuscript in the Prince of Wales Museum. At several places the ribbon-like Chinese cloud is seen. Perhaps the motif was adopted from a carpet design, though, of course, it is very common in Persian painting of the late fifteenth century and upto the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Its presence in the *Tūti Nāma* shows its use upto a late date.

In the matter of composition the *Tūti Nāma* illustrations show an advance. The composition whether vertical or horizontal is not divided into compartments in which parts of the story are continued without taking recourse to perspective of any kind. Even in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* there are illustrations in which the composition is not divided. In the *Tūti Nāma*, however, some kind of perspective is attempted and relationship is established between the figures and groups by various expedients. However, there are some illustrations in the *Tūti Nāma* in which the survival of the older method of dividing the composition into panels is seen. The *Tūti Nāma* is a curious blend of old and new, good and bad. Without entering into a discussion about its date some scholars feel that in this manuscript one may see the beginnings of the Mughal school while others think that this kind of experiment was not unnatural in a provincial centre, even considerably after the early Mughal style of the *Hamza Nāma* had been established.

The survival of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style is also seen to some extent in the so-called Malwa idiom of Rajasthani painting. The term 'Malwa School' was originally used by Khandalavala to indicate a group similar to a *Rāgamālā* series in the National Museum, New Delhi, dated A.D. 1680 and painted at Narsingh Shahar which is likely to be none other than Narsinghgarh State. But if the term 'Malwa School' is intended to signify a school, referred to by some writers as Central Indian Painting, as distinct from Rajasthani painting then the term is misused, for the so-called 'Malwa Idiom' is most characteristically a Rajasthani school in feeling, execution, colouring, types, composition and motifs. In fact, these so-called Malwa idiom miniatures may not have all been done in Malwa. They may be from Bundelkhand or it may be that artist families settled in the area which became Narsinghgarh State accepted commissions and sold their work all over Rajasthan and Bundelkhand. In any event it is very much a Rajasthani school and the term Central Indian Painting may lead to confusion. Apparently the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* style which we feel belongs to the northern belt from Uttar Pradesh to Delhi was not unknown to other areas also. For instance, the four illustrations to *Pārśvanātha Vivāhalū* or 'The Marriage of Pārśvanātha' which form a part of the manuscript of *Ratan Sār*, a Jain text dated A.D. 1576, in the Boston Museum,[4] show a curious mixture of the Western Indian or Gujarati and the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* traditions. In the treatment of the figure of Pārśvanātha while a pronounced angular draughtsmanship and the projection of the farther eye betoken the survival of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition, the thin, recurved moustache seems to have been borrowed from the *Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition. The turban which is boat-shaped is of the *kulāhdār* type and even in A.D. 1576 seems to have been in fashion in the area where the manuscript was painted. Alternatively its presence may be due only to a repetition of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition. In the figure of Prabhāvatī as well the survival of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition is apparent in the sensitivity of draughtsmanship and certain details of the costume such as the balloon-like treatment of the *oḍhanī* on the head and its stiffened ends on either side of the chest.

Another instance of the survival of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition is an illustrated manuscript of the *Saṅgrahaṇī Sūtra* in the collection of Muni Punyavijayaji of Ahmedabad, which according to us should be dated to *circa* A.D. 1575. Comparing the manuscript with the illustrations of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group one is struck with the fact that the older tradition though in the process of disintegration in the Akbar period seems to have left traces in some paintings of the Rajasthani school. The survival may be seen in the horizontal formation of the composition, division of the surface in more than one compartment, use of monochrome background, angular draughtsmanship, similar costume types and textile decoration, somewhat similar physical types and decorative landscape. Of course, all these features can also be seen in Gujarati painting which after all is the common source, mainly, of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group as well as of Rajasthani painting. An early *Rāgamālā* set in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan[5] may be considered in this connection. The horizontal format, the monochrome background with abbreviated

[4] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part IV, Boston, 1924, p. 66.
W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, Connecticut, 1960, Pls. 7-8.

[5] Anand Krishna, "An Early Rāgamālā Series", *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. IV, Michigan, 1961, pp. 368-372, figs. 1-36, where it is described as Rajasthani and dated *c.* A.D. 1576.

architecture and trees to relieve the monotony, the angular draughtsmanship, the male figure with exaggerated chest and recurved moustache, the female figure with well-defined round breasts and the usual brown and yellow complexion and certain details of female costume show the survival of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style, though there is no gainsaying that the style is also very much influenced by the Mughal style of the Akbar period. It, however, appears from this manuscript that when it was painted the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition was quickly being assimilated into new modes of expression. The date and provenance are not certain but it appears to be later than A.D. 1575 and is best ascribed to the last quarter of the sixteenth century which allows for a margin of twenty-five years. Moreover, it is indeed very doubtful if it belongs to Rajasthan.

The survival of the older tradition is also evident in an illustrated manuscript of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* dated A.D. 1591 in the Jainānanda Pustakālaya.[6] The style shows the adoption and assimilation of certain Mughal features, though there are other features which are reminiscent of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition. In the treatment of architecture, the angularity of the human face, the spray-like treatment of the trees and even in the textile patterns these illustrations seem to have derived some inspiration from the older school.

The survival of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition is again evident in two *Gīta Govinda* paintings (Figs. 201 and 202) in the National Museum. Their format is horizontal with plain background divided into more than one compartment in red or black. The stormy blue sky, the conventional trees with meandering trunks and ovaloid foilage, the spray-like plants, and the river Jamunā represented in basket pattern with fish and lotuses are features similar to those seen in the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta Govinda* illustrations. The female figure in both shows a common origin though in the National Museum illustrations an attempt has been made to round off the draughtsmanship with pleasing results.

The mode of wearing the *oḍhanī* with one end crossed over the chest and hanging stiffly, a characteristic feature of the *Laur-Chandā* group survives, but in a much modified form. As a matter of fact, the human figures show a gradual emergence from the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition which process Khandalavala would attribute to the influence of Mughal painting as in the case of the Rajasthani school which he considers to be the outcome of Mughal influence on the Western Indian or Gujarati style. Similarly the painting of the northern belt from Delhi to Uttar Pradesh was also influenced by Mughal painting in the second half of the sixteenth century. Khandalavala, moreover, feels that for want of sufficient data, we may be describing certain miniatures as Rajasthani though strictly speaking they may be the products of the area from Delhi to Uttar Pradesh.

In connection with the survival of the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition till the beginning of the seventeenth century, an early dated *Rāgamālā*, popularly known as the Chawand set, now dispersed in many public and private collections, may be mentioned. The series was painted in A.D. 1605 at Chawand, not far from Udaipur, where the celebrated Rāṇā Pratāp had shifted his capital in A.D. 1578. The Chawand *Rāgamālā*[7] though showing

[6] W. Norman Brown, *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Connecticut, 1941.
Karl Khandalavala, 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Mārg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 16-18.

[7] Gopi Krishna Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rājasthāni Rāgamālā", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIX, 1952-53, pp. 1-5.

developed Rajasthani characteristics reveals certain features which may be derived from the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group. The male figure in the Chawand set has pointed nose, *paḍol*-shaped eyes with recurved eyebrows, twirled moustache and double chin which show certain affinities with the *Laur-Chandā* type. Similarly, angularity is marked in the female figure though in contradistinction to the *Laur-Chandā* type the Chawand type is more pronouncedly thick-set. The angularity in the treatment of the *chādar* or *oḍhanī* and an almost geometrical alignment of some items of clothing are very much in evidence. In the treatment of trees, which are either spray-like or with decorative crown of foilage and of conventional animals and birds the older tradition makes itself felt.

It would seem that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the Rajasthani school assimilated some of the features of the prevailing styles fast going out of fashion and created with the help of the Mughal school a new mode of expression which was to endure for almost two hundred years. This new movement was not confined to Rajasthan. It also flourished in Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand and Uttar Pradesh. It also created the popular Mughal style for the more sophisticated clientele who admired a certain degree of technical perfection, but at the same time desired to see representations of subjects which by tradition and force of habit appealed to them most. The Rajasthani school not infrequently gave a new approach to painting by associating it with the people and by expressing the religious beliefs, the emotions and the social background of the people even though in the main it remained an art of the Rājās and Ṭhikānādārs of Rajasthan. Its colourists rose to new heights and unmindful of the rigorous discipline of the Mughal school and remembering the vivid reds and blues of Western Indian or Gujarati painting used brilliant enamel-like colours which form appropriate backgrounds for the drama of love both human and divine which is the predominant theme of Rajasthani painting.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE COLOURED PLATES

**Pl. 1.** Upper register: Kālaka and the Sāhī chief. Lower register: Balamitra and his wife. Folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1370-1380. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Upper register: Kālaka dressed in the white garment of a Jain monk is seated on a green and gold high-backed chair shaded by an umbrella, conversing with the Sāhī chief wearing a cap, a blue *jāma* and white shirt, seated on a lion throne to which are attached four arrows; background, blue sky. The illustration is noted for its fine draughtsmanship and careful application of enamel-like colours. The foreign Sāhī is based on some Mongol type as seen in Persian and Arab painting. Very little gold and no ultramarine are used.

Lower register: Balamitra is seated on the left on a high-backed cushioned chair shaded by a double umbrella, his feet resting on a footrest conversing with his wife. He holds a sword in one hand and a *pān* in the other. His wife wearing a tiara, blue *cholī*, *chādar* and a skirt is seated on a stool holding a flower. Red background. The same delicacy of draughtsmanship is found as in the previous illustration.

**Pl. 2.** Upper register: King Siddhārtha conversing with Triśalā. Lower register: Triśalā reclining on the bed. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1439. National Museum, New Delhi.

The folio has six lines of text written in gold on a crimson ground with a spray on the left hand border. The illustration is at the centre and extends beyond the text area into the top and bottom borders.

Upper register: Siddhārtha wearing a tiara, a crimson scarf and a *dhotī* is seated on a golden chair with a *chaurī*-bearer standing behind him. On the right is seated Triśalā on a golden *moḍhā* wearing a transparent *oḍhanī*, blue *cholī* and white printed *sārī*. The room is decorated with *bandanwār*.

Lower register: Triśalā wearing a green *cholī* and pink chequered *sārī* is reclining on the bed. The arrangement of the white printed counterpane is peculiar. While covering the bed it stands out stiffened serving as a curtain against which her body stands out. On the right is seated a maid dressed in a striped *sārī*; her *chādar* while ballooning out at the coiffure is carried traversely over the chest and its stiffened end stands out prominently. Red background; an ewer and *pāndān* on the floor.

**Pl. 3.** Meeting of the Sāhī chief and Kālaka. Folio from the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*

probably painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1430-1440. Muni Punyavijayaji Collection, Ahmedabad.

In the upper register the Sāhī chief wearing a domed hat trimmed with pearls and yellow and green *jāma* is seated on a yellow throne shaded by a blue umbrella with a *chaurī*-bearer standing behind. On the right the yellow coloured Kālaka is seated conversing with the chief. In between there lies a *pān*-stand. The monotony of a red background is relieved by colourful rosettes and leaves.

In the lower register appear three Sāhī soldiers; in between appear two crossed spears and a tiny horse.

**Pl. 4.** Triśalā witnessing a dance performance. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda.

The text written in gold on carmine ground is enclosed by a cartouche on either side and interlinked blue, green and red lozenges. In the background the haloed Triśalā painted in gold wearing a green *cholī,* chequered blue *sārī* is seated on a purple *gādi* looking at her face in a mirror. Facing her are seated four haloed ladies. In the foreground two female dancers wearing, green and blue *cholīs* and pearl ornaments are dancing. Of the three musicians arranged on both sides one is playing a flute, a second is drumming and a third is playing the cymbals. They wear *dhotīs* and scarves though they all wear white *pagrīs* of the *aṭpaṭī* type peaked behind. It is evident from this illustration that the style though closely related with Western Indian or Gujarati painting has an individuality which distinguishes the art of the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra*. See also Fig. 40 for detail.

**Pl. 5.** Kālaka retrieving the ball. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā.* Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

See Fig. 51 for description.

**Pl. 6.** Border decorations of folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār.

See for descriptions : a—Fig. 66; b—Fig. 89; c—Fig. 92; d—Fig. 78; e—Fig. 72; f—Fig. 74.

**Pl. 7.** Border decorations of folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*, Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār.

See for description: a—Fig. 64; b—Fig. 65; c—Fig. 95; d—Fig. 96; e—Fig. 63; f—Fig. 54.

**Pl. 8.** The traitorous Vezier repulsed by the queen. Episode in the *Hasht Bihisht* from a MS. of Amīr Khusrav Dihlavī's *Khamseh*. Late 15th century. A.D. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

The scene is laid in a room with red and green background. In the centre the queen in red, yellow and green *pairhan* is seated on a long bench facing the traitorous Vezier wearing *kulāhdār* turban and blue *jāma*. On either side appears an ewer in an alcove. The blue stripe at the top perhaps represents the sky. Though heavily indebted to Persian art there are features in this series including the appearance of typically Indian ewers which point to its Indian origin.

**Pl. 9.** Hamza meeting the water carrier. Folio from the *Hamza Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany.

On the right inside a bricked enclosure is a round tank with the water represented in

basket pattern in blue associated with a couple of fish; a tree with green leaves and pink flowers in the background. Near by stands the water carrier carrying three pitchers, one in either hand and a third on her head. She wears an elaborate pink *pairhan* and *chādar*. On the left Hamza wearing a crown, a *jāma* and riding a blue horse is conversing with the water carrier.

**Pl. 10.** Biraspat describing the beauty of Laurak to Chandā. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. Late 15th century A.D. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

The scene is laid within a framed pavilion. In the upper register on the right, wearing a white *chādar*, blue *cholī* and white skirt is Biraspat conversing with Chandā dressed likewise. Both are seated on *pīṭhas*. In the lower register on the right Laurak, wearing a *mukuṭa* and red spotted white *jāma*, is riding an elephant; he is preceded by a soldier. Red background; the lanky elephant seems to be based on some Persian drawing.

**Pl. 11.** Preparation and perfuming of *sherbat*. Folio from the *Nī'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

The scene is laid down in the open. The cream field has long tufts of grass and flowering shrubs. In the background the king in pink and yellow accompanied by a lady dressed in Indian costume is receiving a bowl of *sherbat* from one of his four attendants; purple and yellow background.

In the foreground various operations in making *sherbat* may be seen. On the left an attendant is preparing spices in a big bowl, holding a ladle with one hand; near her lie a tray and a handled pitcher. On the right *sherbat* is being boiled and a woman is examining the syrup.

**Pl. 12.** Method of preparing bread by mixing oil and flour. Folio from the *Nī'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

The scene is laid in a garden with typical Turkoman school vegetation. In the background on the left the king in blue and yellow attended by a girl is apparently showing his interest in bread-making. On the right stand three female attendants in Persian costume, one seated on the ground is rolling bread which she is throwing on two round mats; another is kneading the flour in a bowl. Golden sky.

**Pl. 13.** Kuntī lying on the bed disconsolate. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchhauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay.

In the upper register with red and blue background Parikshita clad in a simple *dhotī* and scarf is listening to Janamejaya. In the lower register is depicted a pavilion with a turret and merlons furnished with a bed on which Kuntī is lying; chocolate background. On the left she is talking with one of her sons. Red mound with a plantain tree serving as background; a strip of blue represents the sky.

The importance of this MS. lies in the fact that it is the earliest dated MS. which can be regarded as a florescence of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. The style though verging on a narrative folk art is laconic. To assist the reader most of the pictures are labelled in Hindi.

**Pl. 14.** The adventures of Nala and Damayantī. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay.

The illustration is divided into three registers—the upper two being divided into sub-panels. In the upper register there are three sub-panels with blue and red background. In the first sub-panel Janamejaya and Parīkshita are conversing. In the second sub-panel Dama-

yantī is seen in the wilderness indicated by a few decorative trees, a tiger and an antelope. In the third sub-panel Damayantī is facing an elephant; blue background. In the middle register sub-panel one, there is a yellow, white and pink hill against a red background with sparsely clad Damayantī. In the second sub-panel a leaf cottage with three ascetics, and Damayantī seated outside are depicted; blue background. In third sub-panel Damayantī is wandering alone in the jungle; red background. In the lower register a caravan with its guard and carriers is shown. An elephant, a blue horse and an ox constitute the caravan. In the centre people are arranging piled up bales; the caravan master is conversing with Damayantī; red background.

**Pl. 15.** Adventures of Damayantī. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchhauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay.

The upper register is sub-divided into two sub-panels. In the left sub-panel Janamejaya and Parikshita are conversing. In the right sub-panel is depicted a tank with cranes and lotuses; members of the caravan sleeping on its bank; red background. In the middle register two wild elephants are trampling and tearing the members of the caravan to pieces; some are fleeing in between the trees; blue background with two trees. In the lower register Damayantī in the company of two Brahmans enters the city gate and meets the queen; green yellow and red background.

**Pl. 16.** Draupadī telling Satyabhāmā about devotion to one's husband. Folio from the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* painted at Kachchhauvā near Agra. Dated A.D. 1516. Asiatic Society, Bombay.

The scene is laid in a courtyard with a decorative tree on either side and red back wall on which some figures are painted. On the left is seated Draupadī conversing with Satyabhāmā seated on the right. Stormy sky.

There is hardly any doubt that the female type represented here is the forerunner of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* type and shows that at least by A.D. 1516 the type had evolved.

**Pl. 17.** (a) Ādinātha's marriage celebrations. (b) Anointment of Ādinātha. Folios from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

(a) A very busy Hindu marriage scene is depicted here. On the left a group of musicians are vigorously playing a gong, drums, a trumpet, and the cymbals. On the right the bride and the bridegroom in wedding costumes are seated on a low platform with the sacred fire burning and the bride's father performing the oblations. Behind the couple are seated a man and a woman. Red background.

(b) In the centre Ādinātha is seated on a golden *chaukī*, his head being shaded with an umbrella. An attendant is applying some ointment to his back, two are carrying pitchers filled with sacred water of the Indian rivers and three others stand making obeisance. On the left stand four women headed by a man who is applying *tilaka* to the king's forehead. Red background.

**Pl. 18.** (a) Dance performance at Indra's court. (b) Bharata's army arrives at Timisā cave. Folios from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

(a) On the left Indra is seated on the floor facing a dancing girl and her male partner performing a dance. She wears the *chūṛīdār* pyjamas and a *chādar*. Following them a female

musician is playing cymbals and four male musicians play a drum, trumpet and cymbals. Red background.

(b) The Gaṅgā flowing from a hill to the Timisā cave is represented by basket pattern. The treatment of the hill is a pile of irregular cones and the cave is represented as arched and dark. On both sides of the river is marching Bharata's army consisting of horse, elephant and camel riders and foot soldiers. Red background.

**Pl. 19.** (a) Pastoral scene. (b) Vaijayantī forest. Folios from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

(a) In the upper register cows and bulls are fighting and gambolling and a couple of herdsmen driving and restraining them. A man and a woman are seated in a pavilion. The illustration comes in the category of genre painting which is a characteristic of the *Mahāpurāṇa*.

In the lower register on the left a couple is shown conversing. In the main scene a number of cows and calves are gambolling and a cow is being milked. The green background is covered with red dots which in Persian painting were flowers and is now turned into a mere cliché of dots.

(b) Here a forest scene is depicted in two panels. As a matter of fact, such a representation bears close resemblance to similar scenes in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā* (See Figs. 49-50, 88, etc.). In the upper register there are five decorative and three plantain trees. Monkeys are seen climbing a tree, a stag and cow are browsing, an elephant is brushing its body against a tree, a tiger is leaping, a rhino is goring a tree, a bear is resting with head down and a fox and a hare are rushing about. The salmon pink background is dotted with red. In the lower register as well there are a number of trees with monkeys climbing on two of them. A black antelope is pursuing a doe, two fawns are playing, an elephant is trumpeting and a peacock is strutting about.

**Pl. 20.** Vilhaṇa and Champāvatī. Folio from the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. N. C. Mehta Collection, Culture Centre, Ahmedabad.

On the right a very picturesque pavilion furnished with a *bandanwār* and an oval blue and yellow carpet; a painted meander on pink ground runs on two sides. Inside on the right is seated Vilhaṇa wearing a white *chādar*, *jāma*, trellised *kulāhdār* turban and narrow *kamarband*, conversing with Champāvatī wearing muslin *cholī* and *chādar* ballooning at the hairdress passing over the chest and falling in a stiff fold over one side and chequered *ghāghrā;* the ornaments are decorated with tassels. Outside is represented a beautiful portrait of Champāvatī holding a mirror, seated on a flat *moḍhā*. Here the red *cholī* is embroidered, the *chādar* is tasselled. Green and red background.

In the *Chaurapañchāśikā* series the style of the *Laur-Chandā* group reaches its apex. The draughtsmanship has strikingly definitive refinement, nothing is left unexplained and the refined colours are enamel-like in structure. Nature hardly plays any part in this because the focus is man and his love.

**Pl. 21.** Nanda bidding goodbye to Kṛishṇa and Balarāma ready to leave for Mathura. Folio from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Provenance uncertain. Probably Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. National Museum, New Delhi.

The scene is laid in a courtyard with a multicoloured pavilion on the right furnished with *bandanwār*, a couple of *chauris* and a bed on which Yaśodā is lying in a dejected mood.

Outside stand Krishṇa and Balarāma wearing *moramukuṭa, kachhanī* and scarf, offering respect to Nanda; he and his followers are wiping tears from their eyes. Blue, red and green background; black sky with pink cloud. In the *Bhāgavata* series one may see the enlargement of composition and the avoidance of diversion of the surface into panels as far as possible. In keeping with the spirit of Krishṇite themes the composition is imbued with an emotional element.

**Pl. 22.** Rādhā pining for the union with Krishṇa. Folio from the *Gīta Govinda.* Probably Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The scene is laid in a garden in which mango trees, palms and creepers are growing in an entangled mass. On the right appears a bower provided with a lotus bed. The background is black but in the centre appears a red patch against which Rādhā appears seated on a carpet in a dejected mood. Black indicates night; blue sky. For the first time in the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group the value of landscape as a background to varying human moods has been realized; nature is no longer symbolical but serves as an integral part of the drama of love which is enacted.

**Pl. 23.** Kāma shooting an arrow at Krishṇa and Rādhā. Folio from the *Gītā Govinda.* Probably Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The scene is laid in an idealistic landscape with conventional trees intertwined by flowering creepers. On the left a messenger is telling Krishṇa about the suffering of Rādhā at his separation. In the centre Kāma is shooting flowery arrow at Rādhā and Krishṇa and they are united in a close embrace. Red background; dark horizon; blue sky.

**Pl. 24.** Chandā in a garden. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā.* Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The garden situated on the bank of a river is depicted in three registers. In the upper register a colourful pavilion with pink and blue domes furnished with a decorative *bandanwār.* In the centre, wearing a green *cholī,* transparent *oḍhanī* and blue *lahaṅgā,* is seated Chandā engaged in conversation with one of her attendants. She is being fanned by a second attendant while a third simply stands waiting. The green background with tender plants in yellow is also daubed with gold. In the middle register only the garden is depicted. Against the yellow background covered with tufts of wiry grass stand a number of trees, associated with birds and animals. In the bottom the river is depicted in basket pattern; its bank is painted dark blue on which golden arrow heads appear. The river has a boat and acquatic animals. Cloudy ultramarine and green sky.

There is no doubt that of the *Laur-Chandā* group of paintings, the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* series has a classical quality hard to equal in pre-Mughal type paintings. The draughtsmanship is sensitive, colours are bright but refined and the landscape picturesque. This classical phase may have been more widespread in the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century, but its only surviving example is the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* illustrations.

**Pl. 25.** Upper register: Laurak leaves the temple. Lower register: Biraspat gives Chandā information about him. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā.* Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1550-1575. Rylands Library, Manchester.

In the upper register is depicted a small temple against a turquoise background covered with flowering plants and a decorative tree. Laurak dressed in white is proceeding to the

left and Biraspat to the right. In the lower register Chandā is seated on a brick platform with a fan-bearer standing behind her. Biraspat stands conversing with her. Light grey and purple background. The sky is golden in the upper register.

With the passage of time the classical technique of the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* has waned.

**Pl. 26.** Mirgāvat's toilet. Folio from the *Mirgāvat*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c*. A.D. 1525-1570. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

In the centre Mirgāvat wearing a red striped *chādar*, blue *sārī* and ornaments to which pompons are attached is being vigorously massaged by an attendant on either side. Red background, chequered top.

## DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES

**1.** Layman and women. Part of a painted wooden panel depicting Jinadatta Sūri and his disciple. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Datable between A.D. 1112 to 1154. Jain Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Jaisalmer.

It is evident from the *paṭṭi* that by the middle of the twelfth century the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition, evident in sharp angular draughtsmanship resulting in the exaggerations of certain bodily features and the extension of the farther eye, had established itself. As a matter of fact, it is the culmination of that linear draughtsmanship whose beginning may be seen in Ajanta painting and which had established itself at Ellora and elsewhere.

**2.** Birth of Mahāvira. Folio from the illustrated copy of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1370-1380. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The miniature represents Triśalā lying on the couch with the baby Mahāvira; three female attendants surround her. This phase of Western Indian or Gujarati painting is characterized by superb draughtsmanship which is reticent and which defines the body contour with great delicacy. The architecture which is limited bears the character of contemporary wooden architecture. The background is invariably lacquer red while primary colours are used with great effect; gold is used sparingly and ultramarine is absent.

**3.** Kālaka and the Sāhī chiefs. From the same manuscript as Fig. 2.

While the figure of Kālakāchārya follows the usual pattern in illustrated Jain manuscripts, the figures of the two Sāhīs facing are based on a Mongol type evolved in this country. The complexion is fair and the costume consisting of caps, *jāma* made of heavy material and full boots is borrowed from Arab and Persian miniatures.

**4.** Kālaka and Śakra disguised as an old man. From the same MS. as Fig. 2.

While the figure of Kālaka follows the usual Jain prototype the figure of the emaciated and bearded Brāhmaṇa has a sensitiveness, which is so different from the stiffness of the Western Indian or Gujarati drawing.

**5.** The king of Pratishṭhāna with his family. A folio from the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1414. P.C. Jain Collection, Bombay.

The room is a simple affair with lacquered red background and an elaborate wooden balcony on which a *chauri*-bearer appears on either side. The family is represented by a boy and a girl. There is nothing unusual about the colour except that both gold and ultra-

marine are sparingly used. The draughtsmanship is almost the same as in the Prince of Wales Museum *Kalpasūtra* except that in this manuscript it shows a tendency towards stiffening. The manuscript seems to be of Pāṭan origin.

**6.** Sāhī king granting an interview to Kālaka. From the same MS. as Fig. 5.

Within the limited space a more elaborate composition is attempted. The almost reddish Sāhī is seated on an elaborate lion-throne facing Kālaka. In the foreground appear three seated soldiers and two dappled horses.

**7.** Capture of Gardabhilla. From the same MS. as Fig. 5.

Two scenes are represented; in the upper register the Sāhī chief is conversing with Kālaka, while in the lower register are represented five soldiers seated on the floor. Gardabhilla in chains, stands to the right; there are four armoured horses in the foreground. Again as in Fig. 6 an attempt is made to enlarge the composition. The background is red; the Sāhīs are dressed in green; Kālaka and Gardabhilla have yellow complexions. Note the rather elaborate canopy.

**8.** Temple of Mahāvīra in a garden. From the same MS. as Fig. 5.

The chief interest of the miniature lies in its donor figures and the landscape. The background is red. The hills on either side have blue, red, yellow and carmine rocks; the decorative trees with monkeys and birds are painted on blue ground. The donor and his wife in the foreground are not stereotype but effect a very mobile pose. As a matter of fact, they come more in the line of *Vasanta Vilāsa* figure than in the usual line of *Kalpasūtra* types.

**9.** Indra holding court. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1439. National Museum, New Delhi.

In the upper register Indra is seated facing the four courtiers; in the lower register appear two prancing horses and an elephant. The outstanding points of the Mandu miniatures are a conscious effort to improve the draughtsmanship and colours. The Western Indian or Jain features appear but within its own limitation an effort is made to improve the quality. There is a suggestion at colour modelling and the body colour is not merely monotonous yellow but also sandalwood. The treatment of the animals is spirited and attempt is made to represent the minute details of the textile pattern.

**10.** Siddhārtha summoning the soothsayers. From the same MS. as Fig. 9.

In the upper register there are two soothsayers facing the king; in the lower register a horse and two soothsayers proceeding to the right. The figure of the king though conforming to the Western Indian or Jain type has certain features such as twirled moustache and controlled exaggeration of the body which points to the beginning of a new type so prominently featured in Indian painting after A.D. 1500. Note the typical *bandanwār.*

**11.** Siddhārtha and Triśalā listening to the soothsayers. From the same MS. as Fig. 9.

The private apartment of the king is sparsely decorated by *bandanwārs* and a carpet represented by a flowered strip. Triśalā and her attendant face the king. The treatment of the female figure shows a new departure. Though following the Western Indian technique the treatment is smooth and simpler and the *sārī* appearing balloon-like on the coiffure set up a new mode which was followed in the years to come. As a matter of fact, the female type is followed with certain variation in the *Ni'mat Nāma* miniatures of *c.* A.D. 1500. The soothsayers appear in two rows.

**12.** Attendants of Kubera showering coins on Siddhārtha's palace. From the same MS. as Fig. 9.

A two storied simple structure with a couple of standards represents the palace with an attendant of Kubera on either side showering coins. Note the treatment of the sky represented by a strip of blue edged by white meandering lines which is also typical in the later Rajasthani schools.

**13.** Transference of the embryo from Devānandā's womb to that of Triśalā. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1439. National Museum, New Delhi.

In the upper register Siddhārtha and Triśalā are shown conversing and on the right stand two prancing horses; in the lower register Triśalā is seen on a cot with the baby; to the right stands the goat-headed god ready to transfer the embryo.

It is curious to note that the counterpane here forms almost a stiff background curtain bringing into prominence the sleeping figure. It becomes almost a cliché in later paintings.

**14.** Lustration of Mahāvīra on Mount Meru. From the same MS. as Fig. 13.

Indra is seated on the Mount Meru which is represented by a series of serrated rocks; on either side stands a god holding an ewer. In the sky represented by a strip of blue, trimmed with a zigzag white line, stand two bulls from whose horns pour out streams to lave Mahāvīra.

**15.** Upper register: Mahāvīra in a palanquin abandoning his home. Lower register: Renunciation of Mahāvīra. From the same MS. as Fig. 13.

In the upper register Mahāvīra wearing ornaments and *mukuṭa* is being carried in a palanquin borne by two men. In the lower register he is plucking his hair which is received by Indra. Note an ornamental tree on the left.

**16.** Upper register: King Ugrasena and Śivādevī conversing. Lower register: Birth of Neminātha. From the same MS. as Fig. 13.

Ugrasena seated on throne is conversing with Śivādevī seated on a lotus-seat; in the lower register Śivādevī is lying on a bed with the blue-coloured baby Neminātha.

**17.** Ārya Suvrata's renunciation. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1439. National Museum, New Delhi.

Indra is shown holding umbrella over Suvrata, who is plucking his hair after throwing away his ornaments on the ground. Strips of blue edged with white curling lines in the upper corners represent the sky; floral meander border in the foreground.

**18.** Ārishṭanemi on Siddhaśilā. From the same MS. as Fig. 17.

It is an interesting scene in which the blue-coloured Ārishṭanemi is seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on crescent-shaped Siddhaśilā with a decorative flowering tree on either side. The most dramatic features of the miniature are deep black claw-like clouds edged by white meandering lines.

**19.** Marudevī proceeding to meet Ṛishabhanātha. From the same MS. as Fig. 17.

Marudevī, mother of Ṛishabha, mounted on a heavily decorated and ornamented elephant, is proceeding to meet her son.

The painter has given the details of ornaments, decorations and trappings; a few figures suggest the crowd.

**20.** Kālaka and king Śālivāhana. Folio from the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* probably painted at Mandu. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1430-40. Muni Punyavijayaji Collection, Ahmedabad.

The scene is laid in a garden represented by four decorative trees scattered all over. The sky is a forerunner of the Rajasthani manner. The saint, seated under a tree, is conversing with Śālivāhana and his retinue. A horse and an elephant in the foreground.

The illustration bears close stylistic resemblance to the *Kalpasūtra* miniatures of Mandu origin dated A.D. 1439, except in the case of the draughtsmanship which is much bolder and the style suggests a continuation of that in painted wooden book-covers.

**21.** Kālaka facing Śakra in the disguise of an old man. From the same MS. as Fig. 20.

The Āchārya is seated on a *pīṭha* with a disciple behind him; facing him stands Śakra in the guise of a Brahmin. The illustration may be compared with a similar composition in the Prince of Wales Museum *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. See Fig. 4. The hanging clouds appear like a decorative fringe.

**22.** King of Pratishṭhāna with his family. From the same MS. as Fig. 20.

The figure of the king is strong and vigorous but the rather buxom queen lacks the sweetness and fluidity of the female figures of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1439. The patterns on the *bandanwār* are carefully delineated.

**23.** Transference of the embryo from Devānandā's womb to that of Triśalā. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda.

The scene is laid in a picturesque room decorated with pearl strings and a *bandanwār* decorated with the geese pattern. On the terrace on either side a girl is performing the *daṇḍiā* dance. Hariṇaigamesha stands by the bedside of Devānandā.

It is significant to note that the Jaunpur MS. painted almost a thousand miles away from Gujarat, Malwa or Rajasthan incorporates certain local expressions which significantly enough anticipate the Rajasthani style. The female type though angular reveals a debonair grace as seen in the lips, pointed nose and long eyes with reddish retina, a sign of beauty according to Indian standards. The farther eye no longer forms an organic feature but is redundant.

**24.** Birth of Mahāvīra. From the same MS. as Fig. 23.

The scene is laid in a furnished room with a luxurious bed on which Triśalā is lying with the baby Mahāvīra; two *chaurī*-bearers on the right. On the terrace a girl on either side appears.

As a matter of fact, the composition surpasses the stereotype drawing of Gujarati painting and adopts an individual course which finally resulted in the Rajasthani school.

**25.** Detail of Fig. 23.

**26.** Detail of Fig. 24.

**27.** Indra worshipping Mahāvīra at his birth. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda.

The four-handed Indra has slipped down from his throne and is kneeling before Mahāvīra. Here a pleasing male type, avoiding much unwanted exaggeration, is evolved in which the farther eye has no organic significance.

**28.** Birth of Mahāvīra. From the same MS. as Fig. 27.

The scene is almost the same as Fig. 24 except some minor details. Instead of girls two standards appear on the turret. The hanging pots of Fig. 24 are absent but in the foreground appear the sacred fire, a *pān* box and a flower tray which are absent in Fig. 24. The figures

of the two attendants are elegantly drawn with the *chādar* covering the coiffure thrown right across the chest.

**29.** Detail of Fig. 27.

**30.** Detail of Fig. 28.

**31.** Fourteen dreams of Devānandā. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda.

In the lower register is depicted Brāhmaṇi Devānandā lying on a furnished couch surrounded by fire pot, *pān* dishes, water jars etc. A woman attendant stands on the right whisking away flies with a towel. In the upper register appear the following fourteen dreams arranged in the following order: (1) elephant (2) bull (3) lion (4) garlands (5) Lakshmī (6) standard (7) Pūrṇaghaṭa (8) lake (9) ocean of milk (10) celestial palace (11) sun (12) moon (13) heap of jewels (14) sacred fire.

The chief interest of the miniature, however, lies in the drawing of the female figures which show grace and fluidity which distinguishes them from the other female figures in the manuscript.

**32.** Detail of Fig. 31.

**33.** Duel between Bharata and Bāhubali. From the same MS. as Fig. 31.

First register: Duel of glances and harsh words.

Second register: Duel of fists and staves.

Third register: Bharata and Bāhubali facing one another menacingly; suddenly Bāhubali, realizing the futility of war, throws away the crown and renounces the world.

Fourth register: Bāhubali stands in *kāyotsarga* pose in between two decorative trees. Centipedes are creeping over his body and birds are perched on his shoulders; two Jain monks with folded hands stand on the right. The rigours of penance are well represented here.

**34.** Detail of Fig. 33.

**35.** Upper register: Birth of Mahāvīra. Lower register: His lustration on Mt. Meru. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda.

In the upper register the mother and child on a well furnished cot and the *chaurī*-bearer are painted against red background. In the lower register Indra with the baby in his lap is seated on Mount Meru; an attendant on either side hold an ewer; two white bulls representing the clouds pour out water from their horns.

**36.** Upper register: Mahāvīra giving away his belongings. Lower register: Mahāvīra renouncing the world. From the same MS. as Fig. 35.

In the upper register Mahāvīra, wearing a *dhotī* and *dupaṭṭā* and ornaments, is distributing his wealth to the crowd represented by three people. In the lower register Mahāvīra is renouncing the world after plucking his hair which is being received in a bowl by the four-handed Indra. The figure of Mahāvīra is firmly drawn. Also note the Akbarī type of *pagarīs* worn by two persons receiving alms. The angular treatment of the *oḍhanī* is noticeable.

**37.** Detail of Fig. 35.

**38.** Detail of Fig. 36.

**39.** Upper register: Meeting of Kamaṭha and Pārśvanātha. Lower register: Pārśvanātha giving away his belongings. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Poḷnā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Baroda.

Kamaṭha is represented as performing the 'Penance of Five Fires'. From a log to be fed to the fire a serpent is seen coming out; on the right is Pārśvanātha riding an elephant.

The scene in the lower register is almost a duplication of the scene in the upper register of Fig. 36 except that two of the recipients of alms do not wear turbans.

**40.** Dance performance. Detail of Colour Pl. 4. From the same MS. as Fig. 39.

Two female dancers are performing vigorously to the music of a drummer, a flutist and a cymbal player. The dance poses, though stereotype, are full of action. Here again the musicians wear peaked *aṭpaṭī* turbans.

**41.** Upper register: Ṛishabhanātha gifting the potter's art. Lower register: Coronation of Ṛishabhanātha. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Jaunpur. Western Indian or Gujarati school. Dated A.D. 1465. Narasiṁhajīnā Poḷnā Jñāna Bhanḍār, Baroda.

Upper register: Ṛishabhanātha mounted on a white elephant has offered the potter a lump of clay. Note the dramatic meandering cloud.

Lower register: Enthroned Ṛishabhanātha receiving presents from his courtiers.

**42.** Detail of Fig. 41.

**43.** Triśalā's grief at the immobility of the foetus. From the same MS. as Fig. 41.

Two women at the balcony; Triśalā and her attendant typify the emergence of a new female type in Western Indian or Gujarati school. The farther eye is almost redundant here; the body is elastic and full of vitality and the exaggeration of the torso is almost absent.

**44.** Indra holding an umbrella over Āryadharma. From the same MS. as Fig. 41.

The four-handed Indra holds the umbrella; A Jain monk is plucking his hair while another stands witnessing the act. The congregation on the foreground consis ing of men and women follows rigidly the convention of painted wooden covers.

**45.** Meeting of Kālaka and the Sāhī chief. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

It is an elaborate court scene probably based on the contemporary court of a Sultān. It is divided into three registers. On the left the Sāhī chief, dressed like a Sultān in *jāma* and a cap holding a sword and a jewel, is seated on a very elaborate throne conversing with Kālaka. Behind him are probably three body-guards. The soldiers are arranged in three rows.

It appears that by A.D. 1475 a new type denoting the foreign type had not only evolved but began playing a significant part in the composition. The longest face is in three-quarter profile, bearded and moustached. They wear tunics, pyjamas, turbans with three-lateral folds, belts etc. But while the Indo-Persian figures are evident other elements of Persian art are almost absent.

**46—47.** Grooms leading horses. From the same MS. as Fig. 45.

The grooms are represented leading a number of prancing horses. The background decorated with twigs and shrubs. Note the typically Western Indian features of the grooms, though their movement is livelier than usually seen.

**48.** Upper register: Abduction of Sarasvatī by Gardabhilla. Lower register: Armies of Gardabhilla and the Sāhī chief on the march. Folio from *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchāiya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

In the upper register Gardabhilla accompanied by a foot-soldier and two horsemen is carrying the Jain nun Sarasvatī on his shoulders. The figures are typically in Western Indian or Gujarati style. In the lower register while the Śaka cavalrymen affect probably

Sultanate period costume, the puny foot soldiers are dressed in the Indian manner. The nature of the forest country is indicated by a few decorative plants and a black antelope.

**49—50.** The fighting antelopes. Border decoration from the same MS. as Fig. 48.

The background of these borders is made up of arabesques apparently based on a carpet design. The black antelopes led by their keepers are rushing towards one another. The tense movement of the keepers and the excited rush of the black antelopes are well rendered.

**51.** Kālaka retrieving the ball fallen in the lake for the Sāhī chief. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

The composition is divided into two registers. In the upper register the Śaka boys in pink and blue costumes engaged in a vigorous game of hockey are driving the ball towards the goal in the centre. In the lower register two incidents are depicted. On the left the Sāhī ruler is squatting on the throne listening to the message brought by two soldiers. In the foreground appears the inner apartment of the Sultān's palace. The queen is seated surrounded by attendants. Their costume is typically Indo-Persian consisting of a turban similar to the turban worn by men, and *pairhan*. Similar female costume may be seen in the *Ni'mat Nāma* miniatures. Ultramarine background. On the right is depicted a stepped well with a formal garden surrounding it. Kālaka standing on the top step is shooting an arrow to get the ball out of the well. Two Jain monks and a Sāhī soldier are witnessing the scene. The landscape around the well is interesting; ornamental trees flank the well; rain is falling from the overcast sky and a bird is swooping to catch the rain drops (Fig. 71). Body colour of the figures is a natural tint. Besides blue, red, pink and green are extensively used.

**52.** The Ass Magic *(Gardabhī Vidyā)*. From the same MS. as Fig. 51.

The picture is divided into three registers. On the left Gardabhilla is shown seated on a throne within his circular fort releasing the Ass-Magic to destroy the Śaka forces. Behind him appears a curling Chinese cloud. In the upper register are four horsemen, two of the horses being armour-clad rushing on to attack the fort. In the middle register foot soldiers with drawn swords and shooting arrows are storming the fort. In the lower register again there appear some horsemen and some foot soldiers. Some soldiers of Gardabhilla are shown defending the fort. Though the composition is simple without the complicated arrangements or perspective, the vigorous action of the battle is emphasized.

**53.** Lotus-lake. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

It depicts a very picturesque lake situated in a garden. The circular lake is stepped on all sides and on each step appears a goose with floriated tail. The water, on which float ducks and lotus flowers, is represented in basket pattern. On each corner appears a decorative tree with intervening flowering plants. Landscape was never the strong point of the Western Indian or Gujarati school, but the illustrator of the Devasāno Pāḍo MS. shows a sympathetic understanding of the landscape which though treated decoratively becomes a true vehicle of sensuous Indian poetry in which nature serves as a means to an aesthetic end.

**54.** The Sāhī chief. Border detail from the same MS. as Fig. 53.

The chief, wearing a coned yellow turban of the same type as appears in a *Laur-Chandā*

miniature (See Fig. 100), green tunic and *kamarband*, is seated on a high backed chair. Two attendants wait upon him. At the top two horsemen are represented engaged in a spirited duel; ultramarine background; red, green and blue extensively used.

**55.** A Sāhī soldier carrying bricks converted into gold by Kālaka. Detail from a folio in the same MS. as Fig. 53.

The grinning face of the brick carrier is well rendered. Note the turban of the rider which seems to have been borrowed from fourteenth century Persian miniatures.

**56.** A dancer. Border decoration of a folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

The Hindu dancer dressed in *cholī*, flowered *sārī*, scarf and ornament is dancing freely. The monotony of the background is relieved by flowers. An elephant procession appears at the top. As a matter of fact, the motif is continued from earlier temple architecture except the cusped arch which belongs to the Muslim period.

**57.** Kamaṭha performing sacrifice. From the same MS. as Fig. 56.

The burning sacrificial fire is contained in a stepped receptacle; from a log a serpent is coming out; on four corners are jungle animals symbolizing the nature of the country. Under the plantain trees are seated two Ṛishis performing *yajña*. Here again the landscape is represented with the utmost economy.

**58.** Mahāvīra giving away his clothes to Brāhmaṇa Soma. From the same MS. as Fig. 56.

In the sharp angularity of the draughtsmanship it is evident that inspite of innovation, the illustrator still adhered to the older technique. Note the treatment of the tree; the leaves are painted in light tones, the flowers are boldly picked out and the lines on the trunk indicate texture.

**59.** Border decoration depicting warriors engaged in fighting and a bathing scene. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

First register: Two hunters on horseback are shooting arrows and are followed by a foot soldier with drawn sword.

Second register: Two archers on horseback are shooting arrows in a jungle represented by ornamental shrubs.

Third register : The scene is laid in a jungle represented by twigs, a hill and a couple of wild animals. Two horsemen facing one another are exchanging shots with arrows.

Fourth register: It is a stepped tank in which four Muslim soldiers are bathing.

**60.** Detail of Fig. 59.

**61.** Indra and Indrāṇī. Part of a border decoration from the same MS. as Fig. 59.

Indra and Indrāṇī are riding the white elephant Airāvata. The drawing is very sharp and the exaggerations very prominent. The lanky elephant seems to be based on some Persian prototype.

**62.** Hand-guns. Border decoration from the same MS. as Fig. 59.

The appearance of the hand-guns raises an important question of dating which has been discussed in the text.

**63.** Border decoration depicting warriors and a bathing scene. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

First and Second registers: Three horsemen, in blue, light green and violet, shooting arrows vigorously; red and green background.

Third register: Two hunters on horseback are shooting arrows; in the foreground a dog is chasing a hare; green background.

Fourth register: Four people are bathing in a tank. Black sky; red background; blue lake.

Such border decorations may be called genre-painting giving interesting details from the life of the people.

**64—65.** The Sāhī army on the march. Border decoration from the same MS. as Fig. 63.

In Fig. 64 serried ranks of horsemen riding dappled yellow, green, black, red and brown horses and dressed in variegated costume followed by standard bearers, are shown. The illustrator by certain recessions and turns of the horses has been able to convey the idea of movements. In Fig. 65 a very picturesque effect has been obtained by the horses in pairs crossing one another. The movement of the horses is rendered with surety; blue background.

**66—67.** Border decoration depicting celestial riders amidst clouds. Folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

The clouds are of the ribbon-like Chinese type seen in Persian painting and carpets and become almost a cliché in the *Laur-Chandā* paintings. Here the interspaces between the loops are ultramarine which contrast beautifully with the lacquer red of the background. To add to the picturesqueness of the scene, the clouds are pink and ringed with yellow. One of the rider floats on a green elephant and another rides a green horse. In Fig. 67 though the scene is almost the same with certain differences, the horse is dappled and at the bottom is introduced a peacock pecking at a flower. Such decorative conceptions were hitherto unknown in Western Indian or Gujarati art.

**68—69.** Dancers. Border decoration of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 66.

The physiognomy of the dancers is different. The face is round, the farther eye does not protrude and the movement is almost static. It seems that the illustrator meant to illustrate dancers of Persian origin, though their costume is Indian.

**70.** A king bathing in a tank and other scenes. Border decoration of a folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad.

In the upper register the *upāśraya* of a Jain monk is shown; on the right the Āchārya is seated facing two other monks. In the middle register a Hindu Rājā is bathing in a stepped tank waited upon by two attendants; animal figures outside. In the lower register two riders are depicted.

**71.** Landscape in a storm. Border decoration of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 70.

The sky is covered with clouds shown by oblique and wavy lines, carmine, blue and white with the rainfall depicted by oblique parallel lines and drops falling on a stepped brick tank with a tree on either side and aquatic birds catching the raindrops.

This illustration forms almost the first full-fledged experiment in landscape painting in Western Indian art with all the elements which became common later on in Rajasthani painting.

**72.** Landscape. Border decoration of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 70.

The sky is treated in the same manner as in Fig. 71, two birds are seen flying amidst blue and red ribbon-like Chinese clouds. A little below a peacock with a peahen and chicks appears against a red background. In the foreground is represented a stepped tank in which lotuses are blossoming and the basket pattern water is flowing in through a channel. It is a landscape almost with a poetic charm.

**73—74.** Ships at sea. Border decorations of folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

Gujarat was a flourishing centre of maritime commerce in the fifteenth century, therefore, the appearance of ships in the border decoration is not surprising. In Fig. 73, in the top register, appears a bird with its chicks. In the central register a sailing boat with sailors and a cabin. The seagulls are shown hovering in the sky. In Fig. 74 the seascape is still more delightful. The decoratively treated sailing boat is equipped with a mast on which is perched a bird, two flags etc. A peacock is seen on the boat. The sea is indicated by basket pattern with fishes. Blue and red background brings the boat into prominence. The blue sky has purple and blue strips decorated with rippling lines. There are birds flying and arabesques. In this landscape the illustrator has fancifully been able to combine both the elements of the land and the sea.

**75—76.** Floral meanders and birds. Border decoration of the folios from the same MS. as Fig. 73.

Fig. 75 represents a floral meander with parrots in the loops pecking at the twigs. In Fig. 76 is represented an elaborate meander with a big flower and peacock chicks. Both the designs have probably been adopted from some carpet or printed curtain.

**77—78.** Cranes in scrolls. Border decoration of a folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

The cranes within the loop of the scrolls are pruning their feathers, flying, joining themselves back to back or perching and plucking at twigs. The background is red and the birds are painted yellow, pink and blue.

**79—80.** Peacocks in scrolls. Border decorations from the same MS. as Fig. 77.

In Fig. 79 three peacocks within the scroll of arabesques are pruning their feathers. In Fig. 80 within the scroll made of a large flower with the ground decorated with four dotted flowers two peacocks are depicted.

**81.** Dancer. Border decoration of a folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

The dancer is represented in full view with hand hanging down straight. As a matter of fact, such figures show close contact of the illustrators with woodcarving in which similar figures appear.

**82.** Griffins. Border decoration of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 81.

The border is divided into cartouches decorated with rosettes and griffins—one pair standing addorsed while another rampant pair is fighting. Such figures show direct borrowing from Persian motifs.

**83—84.** Composite animals and birds. Border decoration of folios from the same MS. as Fig. 81.

In Fig. 83 are represented four birds with a common head, four lions with a common

elephant head and four antelopes with a common head. In Fig. 84 the following composite animals are represented; bull-elephant; lion-elephant, peacocks with chicks; two ducks with a common head.

**85—88.** Decorative borders showing trees, birds and animals. Folios from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

Fig. 85. Two palm trees and shrubs. The trunk of the central tree is knotted and the fronds are fan-shaped; parrots on the crown.

Fig. 86. A knotted tree, sparsely foliated, with two cranes and two monkeys. Note the sinuous lines to indicate the knots.

Fig. 87. Straight tree with forking branches; the leaf-clusters are painted separately; birds roosting on the trees.

Fig. 88. Tree with slightly meandering trunk which shows the veins painted prominently; there is hardly a leaf but large flowers appear. A number of monkeys are climbing on the tree. The langur monkey is a favourite animal with Gujarati artists. It appears in the *Vasanta Vilāsa* and *Pañchatīrthī Paṭa.*

**89—90.** Women dancing. Border decorations of a folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

Fig. 89. In between two cartouches painted blue on red ground appear two dancing girls engaged in vigorous dance against a blue *pūrṇakalaśa,* their bodies interlocked and with one hand each uplifts the *kalaśa* cover in which may be seen plantain leaves and a coconut.

Fig. 90. While the decor is the same as in Fig. 89 the dancers hold themselves in closer embrace and seem to be naked except for their *cholīs*.

**91.** Dancers and musicians. Border decorations of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 89.

The border is divided into a chain of lozenges every link of which contains a decorative pattern. Beginning from the top the following figures appear; two dancers drumming vigorously, a flower, two dancers, a flower and a pair of geese.

**92.** Winged angels dancing. Border decoration of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 89.

The pink winged dancers dressed in a *cholī* and trefoil dancing skirt, dance within the loops of a scroll painted against the red background. The winged angels indicate Persian influence.

**93—94.** Birds forming the loops of the cartouches. Border decoration of a folio from the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchāiya Kathā*. Western Indian or Gujarati school. *c.* A.D. 1475. Devasāno Pāḍo Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad.

The borders are decorated with a chain of lozenges in which the loops are formed by parrots; at the top and bottom appear a pair of peacocks.

**95.** Horse and camel riders. Border decoration of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 93.

The panel is divided into three arched compartments. In the top compartment two cavaliers in blue and green respectively face one another. The camels have peculiar blue and green heads. In the second compartment a Muslim cavelier in blue, holding a tasselled spear is riding a blue charger. In the bottom compartment appears a stylized plant. Red flowered background.

**96.** Bahrām Gūr and his favourite Āzāda. Border decoration of a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 93.

In the upper register Bahrām and Āzāda in blue costumes are riding a camel to the left. The red background is decorated with twigs and a blue hill. In the middle register a Muslim archer is shooting arrows from his blue charger in a hilly landscape; floral spray in the lower register. The scene of Bahrām and Āzāda has been adopted from Persian painting except that hunting is eliminated.

**97.** Gautama, Rāma and Ahalyā. Folio from the *Bālagopāla Stuti.* Western Indian or Gujarati school. Late 15th century A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

On the left are seen Gautama, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa; on the right stands Ahalyā, released from the curse, holding a garland to welcome Rāma. Some points are notable in this painting. The figure drawing though conforming to the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition is animated with movement. The appearance of the ribbon-like Chinese clouds connect it with the Devasāno Pāḍo MS. The blue cloudy sky and serpentine lightning is also a late feature.

**98.** A woman carrying a water pot. Detail from a folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa.* Influence of Western Indian or Gujarati school. Late 15th century A.D. Śri Digambara Nayā Mandir, New Delhi.

Note the female type with pinpoint waist, closely placed breasts and the *chādar* ballooning out on the coiffure—features which appear in the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

**99.** Laur ascending the palace of Chandā. A folio from the *Laur-Chandā.* Probably Uttar Pradesh. Late 15th century A.D. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

The palace is indicated by a very simple structure. On the first storey Chandā is pulling her attendant towards the window. At the door on the ground floor is seated the gate-keeper holding an axe. To the right Laur wearing trousers and a half-sleeved tunic is throwing up the hooked rope.

In this picture and two others one may see the emergence of a new style synthesizing the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition with a new approach which emphasizes movement and evolves a new physical type. The night scene is suggested by a blue sky bespangled with stars and a burning lamp.

**100.** Mainā conversing with the caravan master. A folio from the same MS. as Fig. 99.

The illustration is divided into two registers. In the upper register to the left is seated the Brahmin caravan master wearing a peaked turban, tight jacket and *dhotī,* holding the letter handed by Mainā, who faces him with her attendant. In the bottom register appear two oxen and the bales symbolizing the caravan.

Note the peaked turban of the caravan master which also appears in one of the illustrations of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* (Fig. 59) and in the *Sikandar Nāma* illustrations (Figs. 101-102).

**101.** Sikandar crossing the ocean. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma.* Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

The ocean is depicted by basket pattern work and a couple of fish. The raked boat is decorated with rosettes, while Sikandar is depicted as a Muslim with oval face, knitted eyebrows, closely placed eyes, pointed nose, twirled moustache and goatee beard. The sailor is in a typical Western Indian style with protruding farther eye. On the left the dark patch represents land on which Sikandar is stepping down. Note the peaked turban in Fig. 101.

**102.** Crossing the ocean. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 101.

The ocean is depicted by basket pattern with three fish. On the left Sikandar is beating the drum of victory hung round the head of a god. On the right Sikandar sailing in a boat.

Note the figure of the boatman which follows the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition; his body is slightly colour modelled.

**103.** Sikandar receiving an Indian envoy. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

The scene is laid in a simple arched *durbār* room. In the centre Sikandar is seated on a couch conversing with the envoy clad in a simple *pagrī, dhotī* and scarf, holding the letter of authority in one hand and offering his salutations to the king. On the right stands an attendant. The Sultān and the attendant are painted in the Indo-Persian style while the envoy is represented in the indigenous manner.

**104.** Sikandar holding court. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 103.

On the right within an arched room Sikandar is seated on a *chaukī* conversing with one of his ministers; an attendant stands behind him. On the left a philosopher is counting a rosary with a *rehl* lying before him.

**105.** Sikandar holding discussions. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

On the right Sikandar seated on a *chaukī* is engaged in discussion with a philosopher seated on a stool. A soldier holding a drawn sword stands behind him. All the figures are in three quarter profile and except for the king wear peaked turbans.

**106.** Sikandar with philosophers. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 105.

Sikandar is seated on a carpet to the right; one of the philosophers is pointing out the book lying open on the *rehl;* the second philosopher has also a book lying open before him. The spandrils of the cusped arches are painted and decorated with dots.

**107.** Discourse of the learned. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

In the centre Sikandar is engaged in discussion with a philosopher; a book is lying open on the *rehl;* an attendant on the right. A squat dome and merlons on the top.

**108.** The Water of Life. From the same MS. as Fig. 107.

In the centre is represented a deep well with water represented by basket patterns and flanked by a tree on either side. On the right Sikandar with a bow and a sword is riding a dappled horse. On the left is represented the Hindu guide wearing turban and trousers and holding a staff. Some unknown hand seeing the superfluity of the farther eye has erased it.

**109.** A dance performance. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

The illustration is different to the ordinary run of the miniatures. In the centre the bearded dancer wearing trousers, half-sleeved tunic and peaked turban is dancing vigorously. On the right within an ovaloid a musician is playing the *viṇā*. To the left is a pair of antelopes attracted by the music. Grass in the foreground.

**110.** A girl of Chinese extraction from India. From the same MS. as Fig. 109.

It is an interesting composition so far as female figures, which are very rare in the MS., are concerned. To the right is seated the princess. She has a round face, knitted eyebrows, closely placed eyes, thin lips and double chin; her coiffure is arranged into three braids, the

breasts are closely placed, and the waist is like a pinpoint. A crown, a *chādar*, a full-sleeved tunic and trousers constitute her dress. Pompons are attached to her ornaments. As a matter of fact, the type appears in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan *Laur-Chandā* illustrations. The attendant wearing *pairhan* and the *chādar* thrown over the coiffure recalls the similarity in *Ni'mat Nāma* illustrations, except that the female attendants there wear turbans. There are two male courtiers seated on a cushion. The architecture consists of simple arches.

**111.** Attempt on the life of Sikandar. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

Sikandar is seated on a furnished throne shaded by an umbrella on the right. On the left the burly assassin dressed in peaked turban and trousers is rushing towards Sikandar with a short broad sword.

**112.** Sikandar and his attendants proceeding on an expedition. From the same MS. as Fig. 111.

Sikandar and his two attendants all mounted on spirited chargers are proceeding in different directions.

**113.** Return of Sikandar from the northern frontier to his homeland and falling ill on the way. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

The sick Alexander is lying flat on a black charger; an attendant seems to be handing him over some ring. The landscape is indicated by a tender flowering plant and hill with hooked rocks in the foreground.

**114.** Sikandar on the sickbed. From the same MS. as Fig. 113.

Sikandar is lying on his deathbed. His rolling eyes show that death is near. A globe in his right hand symbolizes his authority over the world. On the left stands a woman with black hair hanging loose awaiting the death of her master.

**115.** Sikandar's death. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Sikandar Nāma*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. Late 15th century A.D.

On the right Sikandar is lying dead holding a lump of earth signifying that inspite of all his achievements internment in the soil is his final destiny. On the left two of his companions dressed in black tunics, their hair hanging loose, are mourning the death of their master.

**116.** Mourning for the dead. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 115.

Four women wearing black tunics and trousers, their hair hanging loose, are beating their cheeks and chests to lament the death of their master. One with white hair seems to represent the queen.

**117.** Hamza witnessing a dance performance. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Hamza Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany.

On the right Hamza is seated on a carpeted throne wearing a peaked cap, a long half-sleeved *jāma*, creased shirt and *paṭkā*; behind him stands an attendant wearing a short *jāma*, peaked cap and trousers waving a towel over his master. On the left four female dancers and musicians are performing. The dancers who are apparently Hindu wear half-sleeved *cholīs* and trousers. One of the dancers is performing the sword dance and the other is throwing up and catching four balls. A musician dressed in *oḍhanī*, *cholī* and *ghāghrā* is playing the *sahnāi*, while another is drumming vigorously.

It is interesting that the dancers and musicians are strictly in profile and the angularity of Western Indian or Gujarati art is toned down. The monochrome red background is the usual feature of this series. See Col. Pl. 9.

**118.** The visit of Hamza and a soldier to the Fire Temple. From the same MS. as Fig. 117.

On the right is represented a triple-domed temple with two images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. An attendant holding an open sword is pointing towards them. On the left is Hamza and three priests who have been killed and have fallen on the ground. The figures of the priests are again in profile.

**119.** Khandaz, the demon-wrestler, attacks Hamza in a garden. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Hamza Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany.

The scene is laid in a garden symbolized by two decorative trees and a floral meander in the foreground. The sky is represented by two white zigzags on blue ground. Hamza fanning embers in an open fire-place is being kicked by the demon from behind.

**120.** Hamza shooting an arrow at the eye of Dajjāl. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 119.

On the left is a man dressed in a white flat turban and *jāma* riding a donkey; in the centre stands Dajjāl dressed in a flat turban and shorts with his farther eye protruding. Hamza is shooting an arrow aimed at his eyes. It is interesting to note that the donkey rider represented by an indigenous type has no farther eye while Dajjāl's farther eye protrudes. The flat type turban though appearing in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* dated A.D. 1465 is rare in the fifteenth century illustrated manuscripts.

**121.** Meeting of Hamza and Aṣafia Bāṣafāh in a garden. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Hamza Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany.

The lady dressed in a white tunic and *chādar* is seated under a flat domed pavilion. Hamza is rushing to touch her feet. On the right stand two attendants; a solitary tree symbolizes the garden.

**122.** Hamza conversing with shepherds. From the same MS. as Fig. 121.

On the right Hamza seated on an oval carpet is conversing with his attendant; on the left are two shepherds apparently in a faint. With them are two sheep. The landscape is represented by a plantain and two other decorative trees.

**123.** Meeting of Hamza and Mehernigār. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Hamza Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany.

The scene is laid in a room overlaid with a carpet and decorated with a tasselled *bandanwār*. On the left stands Hamza with folded hands and accompanied by two women in Persian costume. A child has fallen at the feet of Mehernigār seated on the right; behind her stands a female attendant.

**124.** A lady resting in a tent surrounded by angels. From the same MS. as Fig. 123.

On the right a bed elaborately furnished with bed post, canopy, pillow and luxurious counterpane is shown; on it is lying a lady wearing a long tunic and scarf. To the left there are four angels; one of them is carrying away a baby.

**125.** Hamza meeting a learned man. Folio from an illustrated copy of *Hamza Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Sitzung Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West Germany.

The conversation between Hamza and the learned man is taking place on the bank of a lake represented by basket pattern and fish. On the left is painted a mountain represented by a pine-cone rock, outlined in white, flanked with a decorative tree on either side.

**126.** Hamza in a garden. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 125.

It is by far the most picturesque scene of the *Hamza Nāma*. The scene is laid in a garden with a plantain and three other ornamental trees. In the centre Hamza seated on a carpeted dias is conversing with his beloved wearing an elaborately decorated *pairhan* and a *chādar* covering the hairdress. An attendant dressed similarly stands waving a towel behind his mistress. In the right corner Hamza is embracing his beloved.

The costume of the women is the same as worn by an attendant in one of the *Sikandar Nāma* pictures. See Fig. 110.

**127.** Rustam engaged in a battle. Folio from the *Shāh Nāma*. Probably northern India. Late 15th century A.D. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

The armed cavaliers are engaged in a deadly combat. The sky is treated in the manner of a folded curtain. Though the physical types follow the Persian tradition represented in three-quarter profile yet they are developed in India and met with in the *Sikandar Nāma* and elsewhere. The colours used are also strong.

**128.** Rustam engaged in a battle. From the same MS. as Fig. 127.

The composition is less crowded here and the participants are dressed in Indo-Persian costume. The folded curtain like treatment of the sky appears here as well.

**129.** A weaver at work. Folio from the *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. British Museum, London.

In the manuscript, a lexicon of Persian words, which contains many words of Indian origin, the illustrations illustrate the meaning of the words. The landscape around the weaver dressed typically in Persian costume, is very rich and based on the landscape of Shirāz-Turkoman school. The weaver is combing the warp with stiffening in a bowl lying near him.

**130.** The ploughshare *(Zinjīr)*. From the same MS. as Fig. 129.

The scene is laid against a mound with flowering shrubs, tufts of grass and a banyan tree. The ploughman dressed in typically Persian costume is plying the plough to which two bullocks are yoked. Chinese cloud in the background. Inspite of the Persian technique the treatment of the shrubs and the bullocks leave no doubt that the illustration was done in this country.

**131.** Burning incense in the king's presence. Folio from the *Ni'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

The king is seated on a stool under a conical canopy wearing a *kulāhdār* turban and *jāma*. The female bodyguard attendants stand behind him; on the right there appear four attendants, two standing and two seated engaged in the preparation of the incense. One of them holds a bowl, the second a goblet while two hold a pot with a pincers on a fire. They are all dressed in Persian costume, *kulāhdār* turbans and *pairhan*, but ornaments such as round earrings and bangles indicate their Indian origin. In the sky appear ribbon-like Chinese clouds which are first seen in Indian painting from about A.D. 1475.

**132.** Preparation of musk scent in the month of Māgh. From the same MS. as Fig. 131.

The king is seated on a *chaukī* put in a sward treated like a mound trimmed with a "comma" design. Behind it stands an ornamental tree perfectly Indian in form. A number of female attendants are engaged in the process of making scent. In the foreground the scent is being distilled. On the right two flasks apparently containing the perfume are hanging from crossed poles being fanned by the attendants for cooling it down.

**133.** Preparation of *sherbat*. Folio from the *Ni'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

In a sward represented by a mound trimmed by a "comma" design the king is seated on a *chaukī* placed on a brick platform placed under a plantain tree. Behind the king stand two female attendants. On the right two female attendants, one holding a ladle, are looking after the *sherbat* being boiled on a stove. In the background two more attendants; Chinese clouds.

**134.** Preparation of mixture of honey and vinegar. From the same MS. as Fig. 133.

The scene is laid in a tiled *dālan* of the palace with a tank in the foreground filled with aquatic birds and fish. The king is seated on a comfortably furnished couch; behind him appear three female attendants. On the left appear five female attendants, three in Persian costume and two Indian. The Hindu maids who are of swarthy complexion wear *cholīs* and *lahaṅgā*, and their coiffure is decorated with chaplets and flowers. Among the ornaments the most conspicuous are round earrings and necklet *(hanslī)*. In the foreground on the right a woman attendant is boiling the mixture on a stove. The new female type has its roots in the Mandu MS. dated A.D. 1439. A variant also appears in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*.

**135.** Preparation of meat-curry. Folio from the *Ni'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

The king is seated under a domed and carpeted pavilion tasting the meat curry served in a number of Chinese porcelain bowls. Behind him stand two female attendants. On the right there are five female attendants four of whom are passing over the bowls of curry to the king, while the fifth seated on the floor is taking the curry from the pots to the bowls. Thick foliage in the background. Several of the female attendants in the MS. though dressed in Persian costume represent Indian types in profile.

**136.** Cooling and perfuming of wine. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 135.

The king is lying on a couch in a garden. The foliage as usual is treated in the Turkoman manner. On the ground lie two crescent-shaped cups. Three female attendants on the left; of those on the right one is shampooing his body, another is fanning him and a third is plying cups of wine to the king; Chinese cloud in the background.

**137.** Mixing of lemon and pepper in *sherbat*. Folio from *Nimat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

The scene is laid in a garden with brick-edged water channel in the background. On the left is a tiled pavilion with the king seated on a carpet; facing him is a female attendant. On the right are three attendants, of them one carries a bowl, the second a tray and a third holds a ladle while looking at the two pots on fire. The trees are a mixture of decorative Indian and Persian types; Chinese cloud in the sky.

**138.** Preparation and perfuming of cakes. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 137.

The scene is laid in a picturesque pavilion situated on the bank of a tank in a garden. The king is seated on a furnished couch with a lidded bowl apparently containing the cakes lying in front of him. Behind him stand two female attendants. On the left there are five female attendants; one of them is seated on the floor preparing cakes.

**139.** Medicinal value of *pān* (betel leaves) according to the *Hāritī Śāstra*. Folio from the *Ni'mat Nāma* painted at Mandu. *c.* A.D. 1500-1510. India Office Library, London.

The scene is laid in a sward. The king is seated on a *chaukī* receiving folded *pān* from a boat-shaped tray held by a woman who appears to be an Abyssinian; following her are three other attendants, one of them tossing one end of a scarf, and another carrying a flask. In the foreground appear three attendants engaged in various operations of *pān*-making. One of them is applying *catechu* and *chunam* to *pān* leaves, and another is straining *chunam* in a bowl. *Pān*-leaves and spices are kept in two boat-shaped bowls and a tray; Chinese cloud in the sky.

**140.** Ādinātha with attendants. Folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

Ādinātha is seated under an arch in *dhyānamudrā* on a throne. An attendant *chaurī*-bearer on either side is dressed in a turban, long *jāma* and *kamarband*. Though the farther eye is eliminated the draughtsmanship bears clear traces of the Western Indian or Gujarati style.

**141.** Pastoral scene. Folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

Genre paintings form an important part of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. The scene is laid in a countryside in which date palms and plantain trees are growing. On the left two persons are feverishly engaged in the game of *pachīsī*, a favourite game of the northern Indian countryside. On the right two bullocks are engaged in a fight; the restricted sense of perspective has resulted in the drawing of a bull which appears suspended in the air. A cow is drinking water from a pool. The illustration conveys the idea of a peaceful Indian countryside.

**142.** Ādinātha's initiation. From the same MS. as Fig. 141.

The scene is laid in a forest indicated by a palmyra and two plantain trees, a tiger and a parrot. In the centre Ādinātha seated under a banyan tree is in the act of renouncing the world. Two courtiers on either side; a palanquin on the extreme right end.

**143.** Upper register: Landscape. Lower register: Women bathing in a lotus pool. From the same MS. as Fig. 141.

Upper register: Beginning from the left two mallards appear on the brick *ghāṭ* of a lotus pool flanked on either side by a tree; then appears a peacock and a peahen against two plantain trees followed by a parrot and a mallard. In the right corner appears another pool in which an antelope and a boar are drinking water.

Lower register: Beginning from the left an elephant is proceeding towards a tree. There appears a lotus pool with brickwork in which two nude women are bathing. Two women stand outside. They wear skirts, *paṭkās* and *cholīs*. One end of the *chādar* covers the coiffure and then passes transversely over the chest forming a stiff triangle as it were. As a matter of fact, the female type represents one of the predominant types in the painting of the first half of the sixteenth century. The monochrome surface of the landscape is covered with daubs of paint to relieve its monotony.

**144.** Milkmaids enamoured by Bharata's charm. Folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

On the left Bharata is seated on a throne attended by a *chauri*-bearer. Facing him are two milkmaids. One maid is churning milk and another is milking two cows.

**145.** Bharata encamped at Vasugiri. From the same MS. as Fig. 144.

On the left Bharata seated on a high platform is conversing with a man; a little below stands his horse tethered to a tree. In the centre stands the mountain made up of superimposed irregular cones filled with "commas." The type is the same as in one of the illustrations of the *Sikandar Nāma* (See Fig. 125). On the right may be seen a black tethered horse and a chained elephant with its keeper. The mountain is covered with trees.

**146.** A horse-rider. Detail from a folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa*. Influence of Western Indian or Gujarati school (Delhi?). Late 15th century A.D. Śrī Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi.

Compare the horse with the one in the Jaipur *Mahāpurāṇa* (see Fig. 145).

**147.** Battle scene. From the same MS. as Fig. 144.

The forces divided into two opposing sides. There are horsemen with some of their horses armoured and camel and elephant riders participating in the fight. The foot soldiers are also engaged in mortal combat. The battle, however, is a sort of slow motion picture lacking enthusiasm and movement.

**148.** Annointment of Ādinātha. Folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

Ādinātha is seated on Siddhaśilā represented by a pile of reduplicated cones. A man and a woman are pouring water on his head. On the right flows a river. In Śvetāmbara painting Śilā is invariably represented in the form of a crescent.

**149.** A Bhilla in a rocky landscape. Detail from a folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa*. Influence of Western Indian or Gujarati school (Delhi?). Late 15th century A.D. Śrī Digambara Nayā Mandir, New Delhi.

Compare the treatment of the mountain with the mountain in Fig. 148.

**150.** Indra and Indrāṇī on Airāvata. From the same MS. as Fig. 148.

Indra and Indrāṇī mounted on Airāvata on the left; three women with folded hands are receiving them. The sky is depicted by strips of blue trimmed with white.

**151.** The Goddess Gaṅgā making offerings to Bharata. Folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540. Śrī Digambara Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur.

On the left stand two courtiers; on the right within a domed pavilion Gaṅgā is making offerings to Bharata.

**152.** Lotus pond. Detail from a folio from the *Mahāpurāṇa*. Influence of Western Indian or Gujarati school (Delhi?). Late 15th century A.D. Śrī Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi.

Lotus pond with brick work and steps all around is a common motif in the fifteenth century painting.

**153.** Palace architecture. Detail from a folio from the same MS. as Fig. 152.

It is a pavilion with a squat scalloped dome mounted with two *kalaśas*.

**154.** King and queen watching the flight of birds. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 151.

On the left outside a pavilion furnished with a bed the king and queen are watching the flight of birds.

**155.** A farm scene. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 151.

On the left a farmer is crushing the sugarcane in a press manipulated by two oxen; on the right is a sugarcane field. Such scenes are rare in Indian art.

**156.** Wishful thinking of Mainā. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The scene is laid in a pavilion with green background and yellow bricked foreground splashed with gold. In the centre is Laur lying down on a bed conversing with Mainā. An attendant with a golden tray is on the left and a *chaurī*-bearer is on the right. Golden Chinese clouds in deep blue sky.

**157.** Upper register: Mīr Masūd conversing with Laur. Lower register: Fight between Mainā and Chandā. From the same MS. as Fig. 156.

In the upper register with purple background, is a temple outside which is Laur who is shown conversing with Mīr Masūd. In the lower register against green ground are Mainā and Chandā pulling each other's hair. Two attendants are witnessing the scene. Chinese clouds in deep blue sky.

**158.** Upper register: Laur conversing with Rāo. Lower register: Laur conversing with two attendants. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The text on the reverse describes Laur on the battlefield. The scene is laid in a pavilion with pink background and yellow foreground covered with blue and golden shrubs. In the upper register is Rāo kneeling on a cushion with an attendant at the back. Conversing with Rao on the right is Laur holding a mace with an animal head. In the lower register, on the left, are two attendants kneeling on cushions conversing with Laur who is mounted on a pinkish horse. Mark the treatment of horse indicating Persian influence. Chinese clouds.

**159.** Upper register: The worship of Devī. Lower register: Women carrying articles of worship. From the same MS. as Fig. 158.

The scene is laid in a temple of Devī against a green and yellow background. Four women are engaged in worship. In the pink foreground, decorated with arabesques, are four women carrying articles of worship. One of them, who holds a flower tray, is delicately picking thorns from her feet. The Chinese clouds are depicted against a blue ground.

**160.** Laur distributing alms. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The Persian label speaks about the alms distributed to fakirs by Laur.

The scene is laid in a pavilion with green background decorated with golden wedges. At the top on the left is Rājā Mahar seated on a golden throne with a *chaurī*-bearer at the back; on the right are Laur and Chandā. At the bottom is a soldier followed by three men carrying money bags for distribution. Blue sky with golden lightning.

**161.** The month of Agahan. From the same MS. as Fig. 160.

In the upper register with pink background decorated with arabesques is Sirjan listening to Mainā. In the lower register with green background is a pile of merchandise with three bullocks in white, chocolate and yellow. Blue sky with Chinese clouds.

**162.** Jogī describing the beauty of Chandā. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The scene is laid in a very elaborate pavilion coloured pink, yellow, green, blue and purple and profusely ornamented with arabesques and meanders. In the upper register, Laur wearing a white golden *jāma* and yellow trousers, is seated on a stool with an attendant at the back. He is conversing with a *jogī* seated on a tiger skin, wearing a blue shirt and

equipped with a bag and a staff. In the foreground, in the centre, against a tiled background is a huge golden ewer on a stand and on either side, under arched niches, are decorative pots. Chinese clouds touched with gold, in the sky.

**163.** Upper register: Rão Karaṅkā replying to Laur and Chandā. Lower register: Two Brahmins. From the same MS. as Fig. 162.

The scene is laid on an open terrace with blue background decorated with delicate plants and a green and yellow hanging. In the centre stands Laur followed by Chandā conversing with Rão Karaṅkā on the left. In the lower register against a purple background are two Brahmins; a tree on the left.

**164.** Upper register: Laur conversing with Mainā and Chandā. Lower register: Meeting of Mainā and Chandā Folio from the *Laur-Chandā.* Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

In the upper register with yellow background and green tiled floor is Laur seated to the left while Mainā and Chandā are conversing. In the lower register with blue background decorated with the ribbon-like Chinese cloud pattern are Mainā and Chandā conversing; two pots in the centre. Chinese clouds in the blue sky of the upper register.

**165.** Chandā fanning Laur resting under a tree on the battlefield. From the same MS. as Fig. 164.

Pink background covered with floral motifs; a flowering tree with realistic birds is on the right under which is Laur sleeping with Chandā fanning him. Behind them stands a soldier. On the left is Laur with drawn sword fighting two soldiers who are shooting arrows. The blue, gold and grey sky has Chinese clouds.

**166.** Preparation for feast at the palace of Rão Mahar. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā.* Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The scene is laid in a pavilion with pink background and yellow foreground. The upper register is framed with beautiful carpet patterns. Four attendants wearing turbans, *dupaṭṭās* and *dhotīs*, their bodies and foreheads marked with *tilaks* and *khaurs* are engaged in preparing platters of green leaves for the feast. In the lower register is shown a stepped brick tank with basket pattern water and ducks. Mark the realistic treatment of the birds.

**167.** Mainā bidding farewell to Laur. From the same MS. as Fig. 166.

The scene is laid in a pavilion with pink background and tiled foreground. In the upper register on the left is Laur, wearing golden armour; on the right stands Mainā, arms outstretched and followed by a maid servant holding an object in her hand. The lower register consisting of three tiled panels, has decorative pots. Chinese clouds at the top.

**168.** Upper register: Mainā in her bed chamber. Lower register: Laur hearing about the condition of Mainā. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā.* Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The scene is laid in a pavilion with pink background decorated with wedges of gold and carmine; yellow foreground. In the upper register to the left is a bed and Mainā seated in dejected mood. On the right is an *oḍhnī* hanging from a beautiful peacock-shaped peg. In the foreground on the left is the messenger holding a letter and conversing with Laur. Blue sky with golden Chinese clouds.

**169.** Upper register : Laur conversing with two women. Lower register : Laur receiving lessons in warfare from Mahar. From the same MS. as Fig. 168.

The scene is laid in a pavilion with pink background and green foreground splashed with gold. In the upper register is Laur, wearing a thick padded shirt and helmet and equipped with weapons, and conversing with two women. The flesh colour of the first woman is light chocolate and that of the second deep yellow. In the lower register we see Laur seated on a carpeted stool with an attendant. On the right is the king wearing a blue shirt and helmet. He is seated on a cushion, apparently imparting lessons in warfare to Laur. Chinese clouds splashed with gold.

**170.** Upper register: Laur and Chandā conversing with Rāo Karaṅkā. Lower register: The attainment of the *Vidyā* by Laur. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

In the upper register with pink background are Laur and Chandā conversing with Rāo Karaṅkā. In the lower register with green background is Laur cutting off the head of a man. Blue and grey sky.

**171.** Laur's lamentation at the death of Chandā who has been bitten by a serpent. From the same MS. as Fig. 170.

Chandā's dead body is under a tree on the right with Laur on the left, in apparent dejected mood. The pink ground is covered with golden hooks. The tree trunk and branches are red and carmine and the leaves are painted separately. Blue sky with floral design.

**172.** Upper register: Khānjahān holding court. Lower register: Four musicians. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The scene is laid in a pavilion with green background and pink foreground, decorated with shrubs, and wall hangings. In the upper register is Khānjahān squatting on a cushion, his legs tied with a *yogapaṭṭā*. Behind him stand two attendants. On the right stands Mullā Dāūd, offering what appears to be his work to his patron. In the lower register there are four musicians, one is trumpeting, the second is playing the drum, a third the cymbals and the fourth on a *rabab*-like instrument.

**173.** Upper register. Rāo Karaṅkā honouring Laur and Chandā. Lower register: An attendant followed by Sirjan. From the same MS. as Fig. 172.

In the upper register the scene is laid on an open terrace with pink background decorated with delicate plants. On the left is Rāo seated on a cushion. Laur followed by Chandā is bowing down before him. In the lower register against a yellow ornamented ground is an attendant holding a fan and followed by a Brahman; a tree on the right. A fringe of blue with meander at the top, perhaps indicative of the sky.

**174.** Upper register: Mainā in her chamber. Lower register: Laur hearing the message of Mainā from Sirjan. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

In the upper register is a beautiful tiled pavilion with pink background furnished with a bed on which lies Mainā. The application of blue, carmine and gold greatly enhances the effect of the painting. In the lower register with green background are Laur and the Brahmin, probably Sirjan, conversing with each other. Blue, red, and gold sky with Chinese clouds.

**175.** Mainā and her old nurse talking about the arrival of the caravan. From the same MS. as Fig. 174.

The scene is laid in a pavilion situated on a green platform with pink background decorated with shrubs. On the left the old nurse is seated on a cushion conversing with Mainā kneeling on the ground; a furnished bed on the right.

**176.** Dowry-bearers on march. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1550-1575. Rylands Library, Manchester.

The dowry received by Chandā is represented. In the background a woman is carrying pots on her head followed by bearers carrying canopied beds. A little below, the bearers carry pots, loads and boxes. In the foreground may be seen horses and cows received in dowry.

**177.** Sirjan on his way to Pāṭan to meet Laurak. From the same MS. as Fig. 176.

The scene is laid in a forest represented by a sward with tufts of grass and also decorative trees; a galloping antelope completes the scene. In the foreground appears a river represented by basket work pattern full of fish. Sirjan is driving his bullocks through the forest. Note his turban type which is of Akbar period and seen also in Fig. 187. Blue and white sky with Chinese cloud and a solitary bird.

**178.** Mirgāvat with her maidens. Folio from the *Mirgāvat*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

Mirgāvat in the centre is holding on to her maids on either side. The draughtsmanship and figure drawing though verging on folk art is closely related to the figure drawing of the Palam *Mahāpurāṇa* dated A.D. 1540 on one hand and the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* on the other. The women are strong vigorous types, wearing a *chādar* which stands out balloon-like on the coiffure, *cholī*, *ghāgrā* and *paṭkā*. Pompons are attached to ornaments.

**179.** Village in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur. From the same MS. as Fig. 178.

In the upper register a man is drawing water from the well by lift *(dhenkal)* to irrigate a garden represented by a solitary plantain tree. In the lower register the idea of a garden or forest is elaborated by decorative trees and birds. Red background decorated with small daub of paint.

**180.** Marriage procession. From the same MS. as Fig. 178.

In the top register a cavalier wearing turban and *chākdār jāma* is preceded by a *chaurī*-bearer who is waving his *chaurī* above the head of the bridegroom led by his father. The idea of the marriage procession is further emphasized with the introduction of a camel and an elephant riders.

**181.** The meeting of the Prince and *Mirgāvat*. Folio from the *Mirgāvat*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

The palace is represented by a two storied structure. The roof of the first storey is decorated with flags and furnished with a bed. In the lower register the Prince is inviting Mirgāvat; lotus pond with channels on the right. The female type represented by Mirgāvat appears as early as A.D. 1516, the date of the illustrated MS. of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. See Coloured Pl. 12. Note the blank wall on the first floor decorated with a spray.

**182.** The Prince in the garb of a *yogī* in search of Mirgāvat. From the same MS. as Fig. 181.

The Prince in the garb of a *yogī* dressed in a striped tunic and carrying a *vīṇā* is walking in a forest represented by two flowering trees, a lion and two tigers treated decoratively like folk art toys.

**183.** The Prince in the garb of a *yogī* in search of Mirgāvat. From the same MS. as Fig. 181.

In the upper register the forest is represented by five decorative trees; the monochrome background is dotted. In the lower register the forest scene is continued with some trees and a river flowing diagonally across. On the left the Prince in the disguise of a *yogī* holding a horn and a *vīṇā* is in the act of crossing the river.

**184.** King holding court. Folio from the *Mirgāvat*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

On the left the king is seated on a *chaukī* eating a *pān*; behind him stands a *chaurī*-bearer; on the right two courtiers seated on a carpet. Blue clouds trimmed with a white zigzag line; the parallel lines indicate rainfall.

**185.** The Prince witnessing a dance performance. From the same MS. as Fig. 184.

On the left the Prince is seated on a *chaukī*, his legs tied with a *yogapaṭṭā;* behind him stands an attendant holding a towel. On the right, the dancer wearing *cholī*, a scarf and three tiered skirt is dancing. Note the peg-like earring which appears invariably in the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings and also in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. Large flowerlike tassels hang from the ceiling.

**186.** Champāvatī. Folio from the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. Probably Uttar Pradesh—Delhi. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. N. C. Mehta Collection, Culture Centre, Ahmedabad.

The Chaurapañchāśikā love lyrics were written by the Kashmiri poet Vilhaṇa who professes to express his feeling towards Champāvatī, the object of his love. On the left is represented a picturesque flat domed pavilion decorated with room hangings and surrounded by a cartouche-shaped railing and overlaid with a carpet with lotus bud docoration. Outside stands Champāvatī, the heroine of the story. Her figure is more graceful than usually seen in the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings. The angular draughtsmanship is controlled, the contour of the body is clearly defined and the attitude of the woman's body and her gestures indeed vivacious. The costume consisting of the *cholī*, skirt and *oḍhanī* follows the contours of the body. One end of the transparent *oḍhanī* which forms a balloon-like sweep on the coiffure passes transversely across the chest; both the stiffened ends of the *oḍhanī* hang freely to the ground. The ornaments are decorated with pompons.

**187.** Vilhaṇa and Champāvatī. From the same MS. as Fig. 186.

The scene is laid in a picturesque pavilion. On the left is represented a furnished bed-room decorated with a heavily tasselled *bandanwār*. On the right the pavilion is decorated with a lotus petal design. Inside it is furnished with a tasselled *bandanwār;* the floor is overlaid with a chequered carpet or spread provided with pillows. Rose water sprinklers and *pān* trays are placed on one side. Vilhaṇa wearing a *pagrī* of the Akbar period type is trying to make advances to the heroine who has turned away her face from him.

The repeated design on the border consisting of a tiny flower followed by two oblique strokes and an arrow head is interesting, as it appears on the paintings of the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta Govinda,* also belonging to the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

**188.** Laurak pursuing Rāo Rūpchand's army. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Folios distributed between Lahore and Chandigarh Museums.

The illustration is divided into four registers. In the top register on the left appear Laurak and Mainā who is dissuading him from accepting Rāo Sahadeva's invitation to fight

Rūpchand's army. Both the male and female type come very close to the *Chaurapañchāśikā* types. On the right is represented Mullā Dāūd reading from the Korān. In the second and third registers Laurak and his horsemen are proceeding to give battle to Rāo Rūpchand. In the fourth are depicted a flowering tree and the gateway to the fort. It may be noted that while the composition and draughtsmanship follows closely the *Chaurapañchāśikā* and the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*, it is more ambitious here. It is not confined to a few figures telling the story in a symbolical way but becomes more convincing and narrative.

**189.** The month of Sāvan (July). From the same MS. as Fig. 188.

The 'season' or 'month' motif is common in old Hindi literature. The content of *bārāmāsā* poems is naturally love, separation and union. Here Mainā separated from Laurak hopes that her wayward husband will be able to come back in the month of Sāvan. The illustration is divided and subdivided into four registers. In the upper left register stands Mainā with her maid standing under a tree welcoming the crows, which were supposed to indicate the home-coming of her husband. The sky is clouded. On the right in the top sub-register Mullā Dāūd is reading the Korān; in the lower sub-register are two kiosks covered by rain. In the lower register Mainā is conversing with her maid in a room decorated with a tasselled *bandanwār* and overlaid with a carpet. The picture is framed with a lotus petal design and floral scrolls.

**190.** Mainā ready to strike Laurak. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Folios distributed between the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums.

In the upper register with a balcony and a room tasselled and painted Mullā Dāūd is shown reading the Korān. The lower register is framed with lotus petal and rosette borders. Inside the room furnished with a carpet and heavy tasselled *bandanwār*, rather dark and portly Mainā has caught the hair of Laurak fallen at her feet and is ready to strike him. Chandā stands with her face averted.

**191.** Meeting of Mainā and Chandā. From the same MS. as Fig. 190.

In the upper register on the left a water-pot on a *chaukī* is seen; on the right in one room furnished with a tasselled *bandanwār* Mullā Dāūd is writing on a piece of paper. In the lower register on the right Mainā and Chandā are conversing in a room furnished with a *gaddī*. On the left Mainā and Chandā are shown entering the room. Black sky with stars. Lotus bud border.

**192.** Fight between Mainā and Chandā at the Śiva temple. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Folios distributed between Lahore and Chandigarh Museums.

In the upper register on the left a waterpot on stand and an ewer; on the right Mullā Dāūd standing in a reverent attitude. In the lower a domed Śiva temple shaded by two flowering sprays is represented. On the left Mainā has caught hold of Chandā's hair; an attendant is trying to disengage them from the fight. On the left is a Śiva *liṅga* heaped with flowers and an attendant.

**193.** Fight between Mainā and Chandā at the Śiva temple. From the same MS. as Fig. 192.

In the upper register is a garden represented by a palm and a flowering tree. Mullā Dāūd is counting his rosary in a pavilion. In the lower register a Śiva temple is seen. In the background Mainā and Chandā accompanied by a maid are proceeding to the temple.

In the foreground Mainā is astride Chandā with the maid looking on. Meandering sky line in the right corner.

**194.** An unidentified scene. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c*. A.D. 1525-1570. Folios distributed between Lahore and Chandigarh Museums.

The illustration is divided into three registers. In an inset in the top register Mullā Dāūd is represented as standing. On the left probably Laur and Chandā are conversing within a pavilion in a garden. A decorative tree is encircled with white stars. The same type of tree occurs in the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta Govinda* and in the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. In the second register on the left there is a furnished bedroom outside which a king is holding court and conversing with a warrior, apparently Laur. In the back panel on the left Laur stands with the head of an enemy and holds the rein of his horse; a gate-keeper on the right.

**195.** Laurak and Mahīpat at the game of dice. From the same MS. as Fig. 194.

In an inset at the top Mullā Dāūd is reading the Korān. Within a pavilion Laurak staking his all that he owned has lost to his opponent Mahīpat, ruler of Sāraṅgpur. Chandā is standing outside. Lotus pond in the foreground.

**196.** Left: *Śrī Rāga*. Right: *Rāga Aḍāṇā*. From a *Rāgamālā* series. Probably Uttar Pradesh--Delhi. *c*. A.D. 1525-1570. Muni Vijayendra Suri Collection.

*Śrī Rāga:* Outside a pavilion furnished with a bed the hero dressed in a trellised *kulāhdār* turban and *jāma* is seated on a cushion; a *chaurī*-bearer stands behind him. The male and female types conform to the types in the *Laur-Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group but are somewhat stunted.

*Rāga Aḍāṇā:* The heroine holding a spray in either hand is standing in a garden; cloudy sky.

**197.** Left: *Rāgiṇī Paṭamañjarī*. Right: *Rāga Lalita*. Folio from the same series as Fig. 196.

*Paṭamañjarī:* Outside a pavilion with a bed, two women are conversing among themselves; night scene with stars in the sky.

*Lalita* : On the left the heroine is lying on a bed within a pavilion from which the hero is coming out. Night scene.

**198.** Left: *Rāga Vasanta*. Right: *Rāga Kānaḍā*. Folio from the same series as Fig. 196.

The scene is laid in a garden represented by two trees. In the centre the hero wearing *mukuṭa, pītāmbara* and *dupaṭṭā* and carrying a *vīṇā* is dancing; a woman playing cymbals on one side and a drummer on the other.

*Kānaḍā:* On the right Kṛishṇa holding a naked sword in one hand and an elephant tusk in the other stands under an umbrella. On the left two persons are acclaiming his act of valour; cloudy sky.

**199.** Nanda leaving for Bṛindāvana with Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. Folio from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Probably Uttar Pradesh. *c*. A.D. 1525-1570. National Museum, New Delhi.

There are two horse chariots proceeding from left to right; the arched canopies are cusped and the yoke ends are decorated with the deer and *makara*-heads. On the first chariot are seated Nanda and his friends and on the second Yaśodā and Rohiṇī are fondling Kṛishṇa and Balarāma respectively. Preceding the chariots is a soldier; cloudy sky.

It may be noted that the composition in the *Bhāgavata* series is more elaborate. No longer is it divided into horizontal panels which continue the narration piecemeal but an

attempt is made to correlate the groups by the placement of the figures and blending of colours.

**200.** Balarāma dragging the river Yamunā. From the same MS. as Fig. 199.

The scene is laid on the bank of the Yamunā with a couple of trees to indicate the sylvan surrounding. In the background Balarāma is enjoying a drink poured from an ewer by his wife Revati accompanied by four other women who are also eating and drinking. In the foreground the river is represented in a loop. Incensed at the refusal of the Yamunā not to join him in person he draws her forward by the ploughshare, his weapon. Next he is shown enjoying sport with the River Goddess and her maids. Gods are shown showering flowers from the sky.

**201.** The Māninī Nāyikā conversing with the go-between. Folio from the *Gita Govinda*. Provenance uncertain. *c.* A.D. 1575. National Museum, New Delhi.

The scene is laid in a forest represented by four decorative trees. In the foreground flows the Yamunā whose bank is represented by a very neatly drawn meander; the water is represented by the basket work pattern associated with lotus flowers and fish. The sky is overcast with black and white clouds. In this idyllic spot a drama of love is being enacted. On the left Rādhā is seated on a *gaddī* conversing with the messenger. On the right Kṛishṇa is seated on a carpet.

There is hardly any doubt that the style is closely connected with the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, except that the physical types of men and women become more graceful and the draughtsmanship loses much of its angularity.

**202.** Kṛishṇa receiving a message from Rādhā. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 201.

The scene is laid in an idyllic landscape with decorative flowering trees, birds including a peacock, the Yamunā flowing in the foreground and a stormy sky. On the left Rādhā is seated on a chequered *gaddī* looking at a flowering shrub and a peacock. On the right Kṛishṇa is seated on a chequered carpet conversing with the messenger.

**203.** The suspicious husband. A folio from the *Tūti Nāma*. *c.* A.D. 1565-80. Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.

On the left a double storied pavilion is represented. Outside the pavilion the husband, seated on a canopied carpet, is getting suspicious of his wife finding some dust there. On the other hand the wife is asking him to throw the dust in the bag held by her as if nothing had happened. Chinese ribbon-like cloud in the sky.

The picture shows that leaving behind the pre-Mughal style we enter the realistic world of Mughal painting with emphasis on finer details and careful finish and a new view of perspective. Survivals from pre-Mughal painting such as ribbon-like Chinese clouds indicate how persistent the old traditions could be.

**204.** Quarrel between Mār and Rai. From the same MS. as Fig. 203.

The scene is laid in a colourful pavilion provided with a basket of flowers, ewer, and trays containing spices, *pān* etc. The husband is lying on the bed with a bag of ornaments lying on his head, apparently thrown by the irate wife who is going out. The sky is represented in blue and white strips in the corners, again a survival from earlier paintings.

**205.** Spotted horse. Lustre painted ware plate. Kāshān. Early 14th century A.D. Formerly Engel-Gros Collection.

The spotted horse appears in Jain painting from about A.D. 1400 (See Figs. 6, 48, 64 etc.)

**206.** Spotted elephant. Bowl. Overglaze painted, Rayy. 13th century A.D. Allan Balch Collection.

The spotted elephant appears very frequently in Western Indian or Gujarati painting. The spotted decoration of elephants is of very ancient origin in India. There is no doubt that an Indian elephant is represented here.

**207.** Baharām Gūr and Āzāda. Detail from an illustration of the *Shāh Nāma* by Firdawsi. Herāt. Dated A.D. 1486. British Museum, London.

This motif borrowed from Tīmūrid painting appears in one of the illustrations of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra—Kālakāchārya Kathā* MS. (Fig. 96).

**208.** Horses. Detail of an illustration from *Khamseh* of Jamāli. Baghdad. A.D. 1465. India Office Library, London.

Compare the illustrations of horses in the Devasāno Pāḍo MS. (See Figs. 64-65).

**209.** Rocks. Detail of an illustration from the *Khamseh* of Nizāmī. Dated A.D. 1444-1445. Rylands Library, Manchester.

Compare with the treatment of rocks in Figs. 113, 125, 148 etc.

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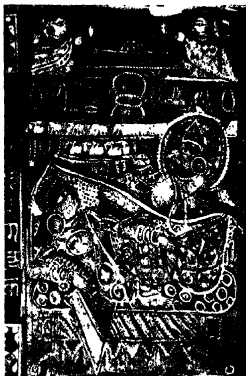
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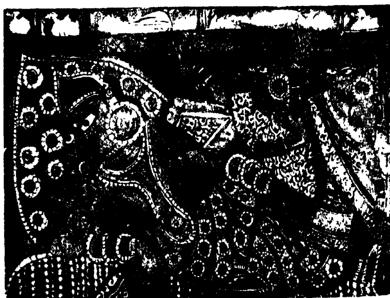
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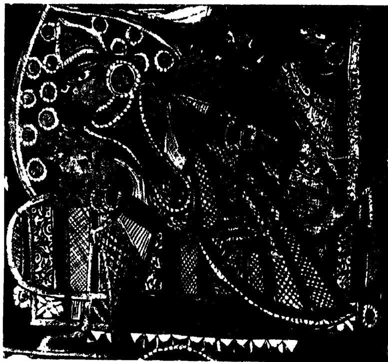
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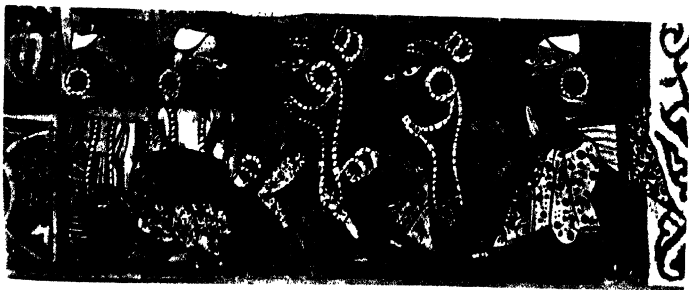
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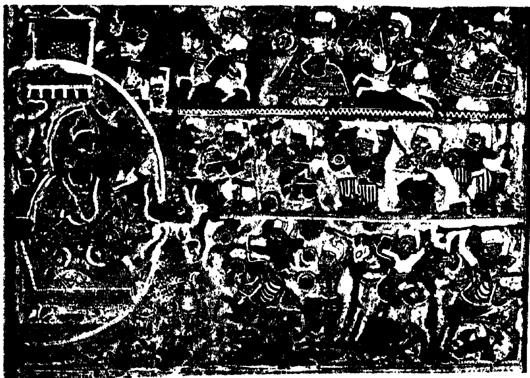
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Western Indian or Gujarati school *c.* A.D. 1475.
Devasāno Pādo Bhandār Ahmedabad

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[illegible]



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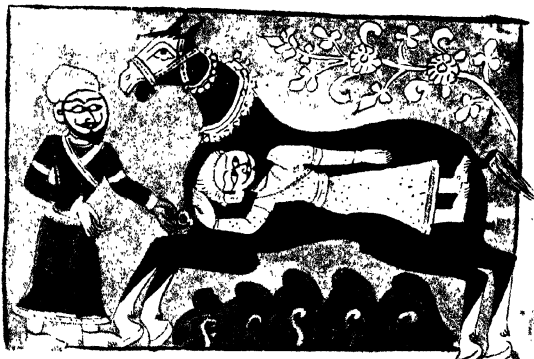
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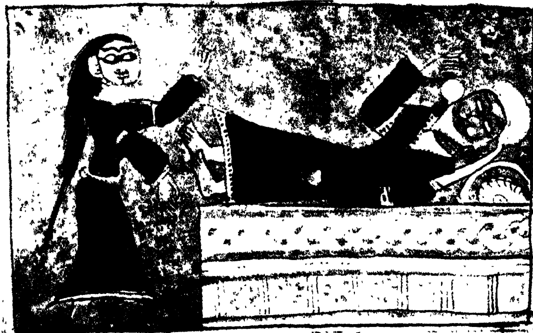
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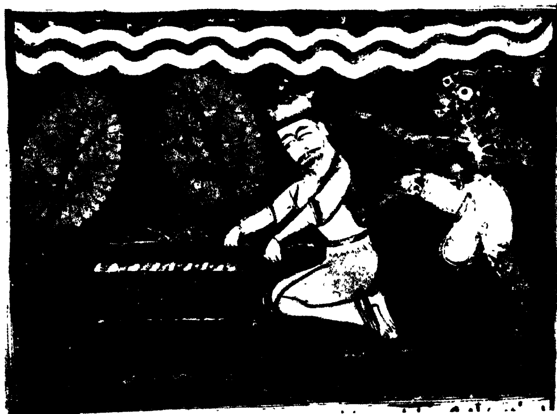
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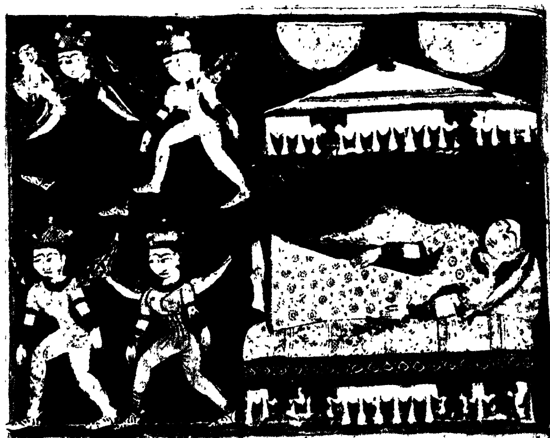
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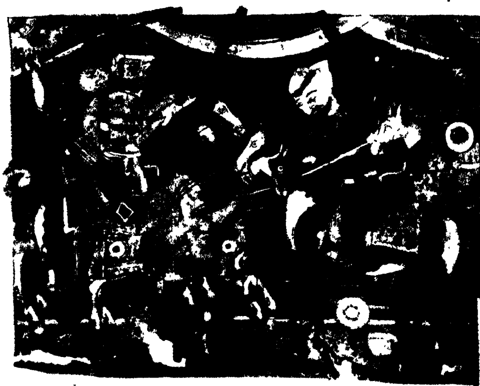
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'astoral scene. Folio from the *Mahapurana* painted at Palam near Delhi. Dated A.D. 1540.
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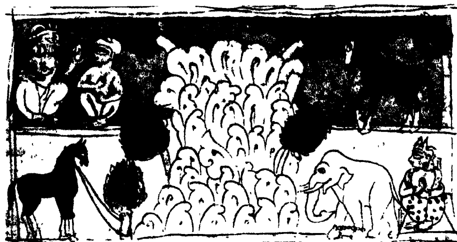
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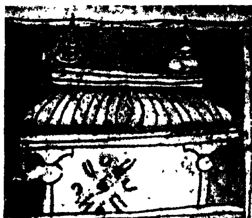
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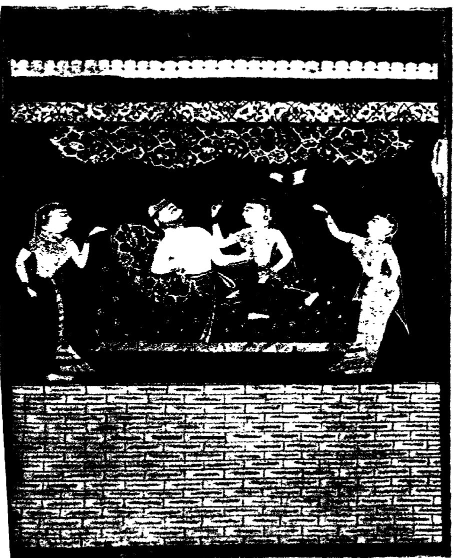


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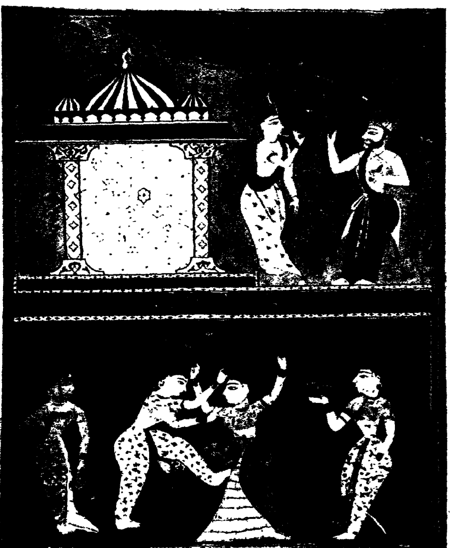


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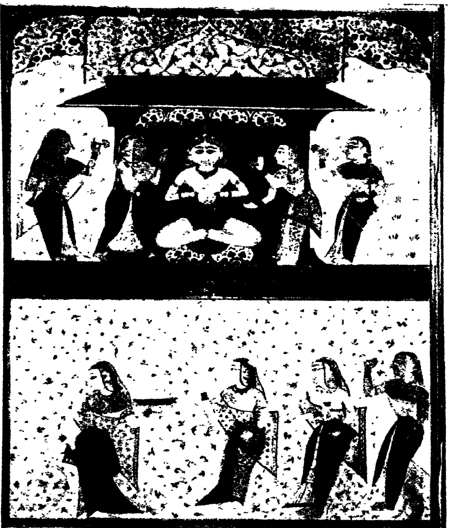
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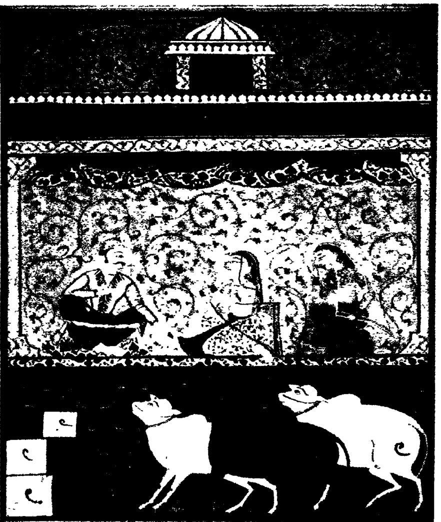
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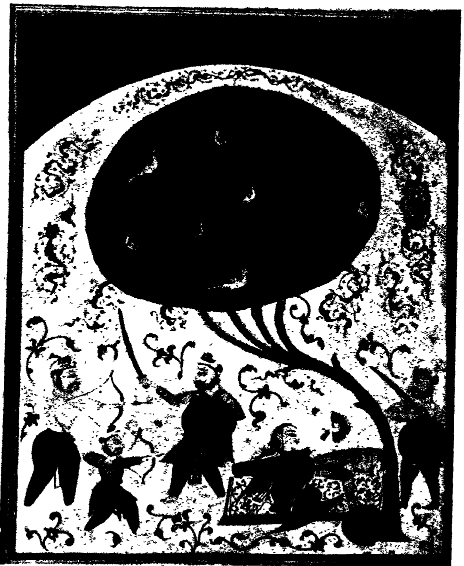
**162.** *Yogi* describing the beauty of *Chandā*. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay



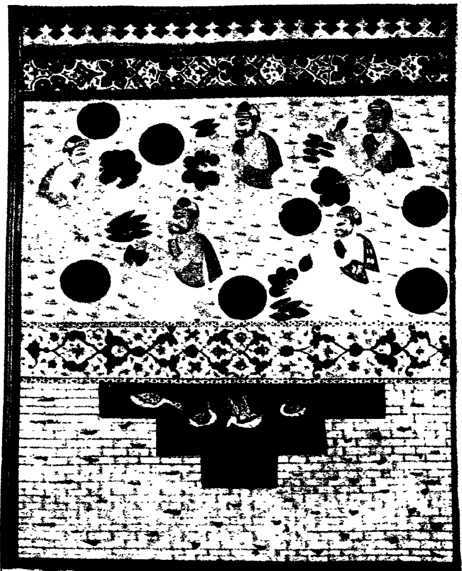
**163.** Upper register: Rāo Karankā replying to Laur and Chandā. Lower register: Two Brahmins. From the same MS. as fig. 162.



**164.** Upper register: Laur conversing with Mainā and Chandā
Lower register: Meeting of Mainā and Chandā. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*
Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



**165.** Chandā fanning Laur resting under a tree on the battlefield.
From the same MS. as fig. 164.



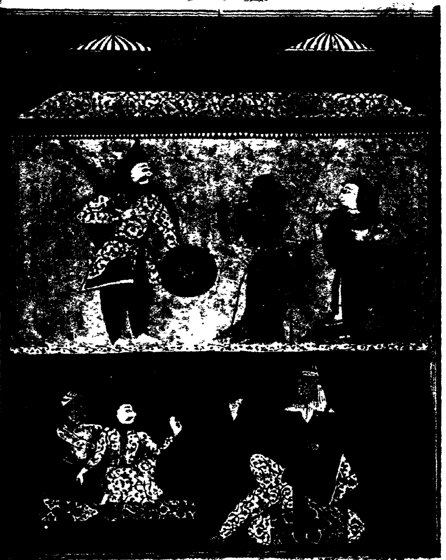
**166.** Preparation for feast at the palace of Rāo Mahar. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. *c.* A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay



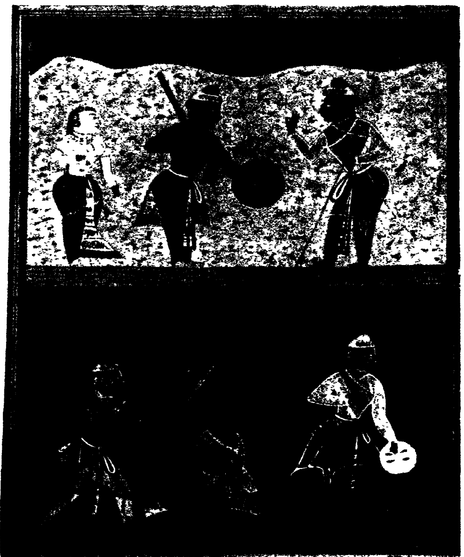
**167.** Mainā bidding farewell to Laur. From the same MS. as fig. 166.



**168.** Upper register Mainā in her bed chamber
Lower register Laur hearing about the condition of Mainā
Folio from the *Laur-Chandā* Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh
c. A.D. 1525-70 Prince of Wales Museum Bombay



**169.** Upper register Laur conversing with two women
Lower register Laur receiving lessons in warfare from Mahar.
From the same MS as fig. 168



**170.** Upper register: Laur and Chandā conversing with Rāo Karankā. Lower register: The attainment of *Vidyā* by Laur. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh c. AD 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay



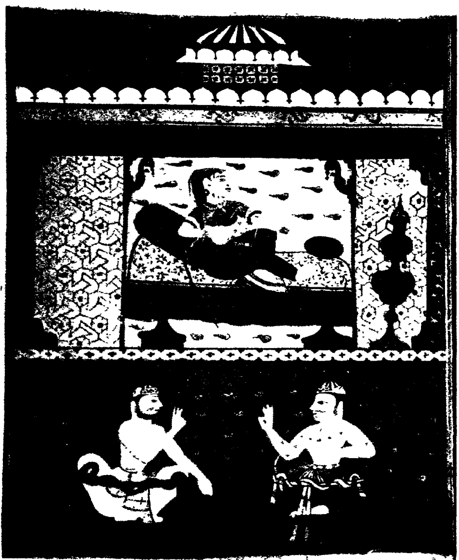
**171.** Laur's lamentation at the death of Chandā who has been bitten by a serpent. From the same MS. as fig. 170



**172.** Upper register. Khānjahān holding court
Lower register. Four musicians. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*
Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh, c. AD 1525-1570.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay



**173.** Upper register. Rāo Karankā honouring Laur and Chandā
Lower register. An attendant followed by Sirjan.
From the same MS. as fig. 172.



**174.** Upper register: Mainā in her chamber.
Lower register: Laur hearing the message of Mainā from S[illegible]
Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh
c. A.D. 1525-1570. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay



**175.** Mainā and her old nurse talking about the arrival of the caravan.
From the same MS (fig. 174)



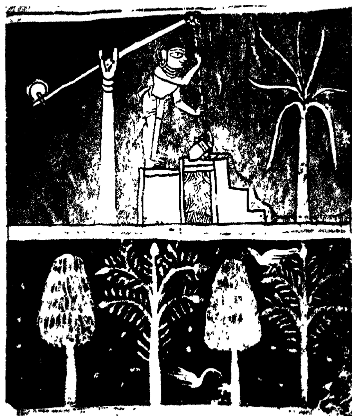
**176.** Dowry-bearers on march. Folio from the *Laur Chanda*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh, c. A.D. 1550–1575. Rylands Library, Manchester.



**177.** Sujan on his way to Pātan to meet Laurak. From the same MS. as fig. 176.



**178.** Mugavat with her maidens. Folio from the *M*[illegible] Uttar Pradesh. A.D. [illegible] Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras



**179.** Village in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur. From the same MS. as fig. 178



**180.** Marriage procession. From the same MS. as fig. 178.



**181.** Mee[illegible] of the Prince and Mugāvat. Folio from the *Mugāvat*. Uttar Pradesh [illegible] A.D. 15[illegible], 15[illegible]0. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.





[illegible] in the garb of a *yogi* in search of Mugāvat. [illegible] MS. as fig. 181.

**183.** The Prince in the garb of a *yogi* in search of Mugāvat. From the same MS. as fig. 181.



**184.** [illegible] Uttar Pradesh c. AD 1525–1570. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras



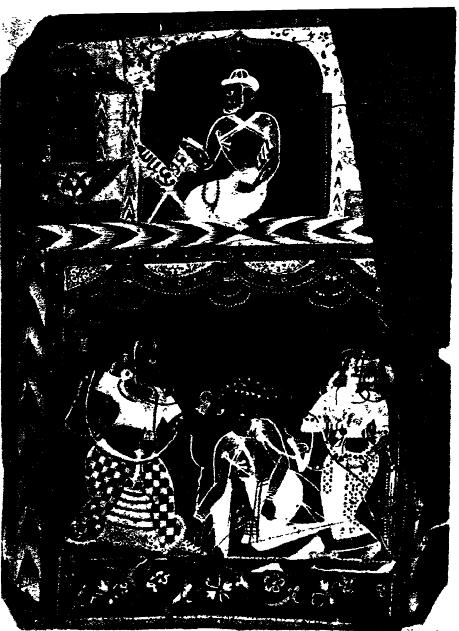
**185.** The Prince witnessing a dance performance. From the same MS as fig. 184



**186.** Champavati. Folio from the *Chaurapanchasika*. Probably Uttar Pradesh–Delhi. A.D. [illegible]. N.C. Mehta Collection, Culture Centre, Ahmedabad



**187.** Vilhana and Champavati. From the same MS as fig. 186



**190.** Mainā ready to strike Laurak. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh *c.* AD 1525-1570. Folios distributed between Lahore and Chandigarh Museums.



**191.** Meeting of Mainā and Chandā. From the same MS. as fig. 190.



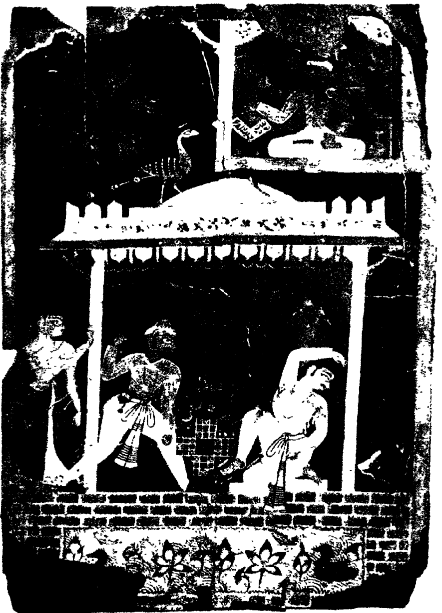
**192.** Fight between Mainā and Chandā at the Śiva temple. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh c. A.D. 1525-1570. Folios distributed between [illegible]



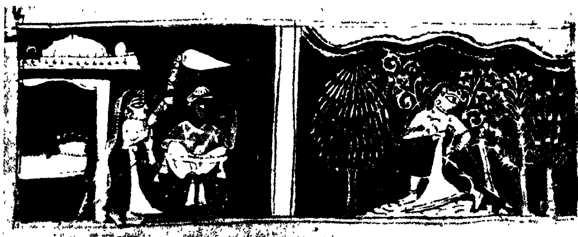
**193.** Fight between Mainā and Chandā at the Śiva temple. From the same MS. as fig. 192.



**194.** An unidentified scene. Folio from the *Laur-Chandā*. Probably Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh, c. A.D. 1525–1570. Folios distributed between Lahore and Chandigarh Museums



**195** Laurak and Mahipat at the game of dice. From the same MS. as fig. 194



**196.** Left Śrī Rāga Right Rāga Aḍānā From a *Rāgamālā* series Probably Uttar Pradesh Delhi, c. A.D. 1525-1570 Muni Vijayendra Suri Collection



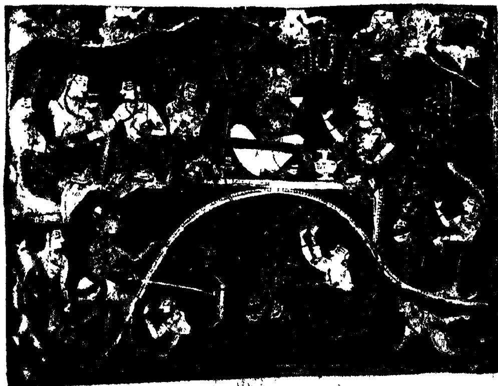
**197.** Left Rāgini Paṭamañjarī Right Rāga Lalita From the same series as fig. 196



**198.** Left Rāga Vasanta Right—Rāga Kānaḍā From the same series as fig. 196



**199.** Nanda leaving for Brindavan with Krishna and Balarāma. Folio from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. [illegible], Uttar Pradesh. A.D. 1525–1570. National Museum, New Delhi.



**200.** Balarāma diverting the river Yamunā. From the same MS. as fig. 199.



**201.** *Mānini Nāyikā* conversing with the go-between. Folio from the *[illegible]*. Provenance uncertain, c. A.D. 1575. National Museum, New Delhi.



**202.** Krishna receiving a message from Rādhā. From the same MS as fig. 201.



**203.** The suspicious husband
Folio from the *Tuti-Nama* c. AD 1565-1580
Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.



**204.** Quarrel between Mar and Rat
From the same MS. as fig. 203.



205



206



207



208



209

**205** Spotted horse. Lustre painted ware plate. Kashān. Early 14th cent. A.D. Formerly Engel-Gros Collection.

**206** Spotted elephant. Bowl. Overglaze painted. Rayy. 13th cent. A.D. Allan Balch Collection.

**207** Bahram Gūr and Āzāde. Illustration from *Shah Nāma* by Firdawsi. Herāt. Dated A.D. 1486. British Museum, London.

**208** Horses. Illustration from the *Khamseh* of Jamāli. Baghdad. A.D. 1465. India Office Library, London.

**209** Rocks. Illustration from the *Khamseh* of Nizāmi. Dated A.D. 1444-1445. Rylands Library, Manchester.